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Monday February 26 1996

Albania L 230	Hong Kong HKS 26	Pakistan R 70
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Austria AS 39	India IN 25	Portugal E 230
Bahrain BD 0.80	Israel IS 9.90	Qatar QR 6.50
Belgium BF 60	Italy I 3,000	Russia RS 2.10
Bulgaria L 170	Jordan JO 1.00	Saudi Arabia R 10
Croatia KM 12.50	Kuwait KO 2.50	Slovenia SLT 250
Cyprus CY 1.00	Latvia LV 1.00	Spain P 225
Czech Republic KCS	Lebanon LB 3,000	Sweden S 15
Denmark DK 15	Lithuania LT 1.00	Switzerland SF 3
Egypt E 5	Luxembourg L 1.50	Thailand B 80
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The Guardian

INTERNATIONAL

NEWSPAPER OF THE YEAR
46 485

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Young, bright but caught up in neo-Nazi evil

Death pact

G2 with European weather

Major in bid to buy off rebels

Concessions on eve of Scott vote

Michael White and Richard Norton-Taylor

THE Government will today offer cosmetic concessions to angry Conservative MPs still wavering over the Scott report in the hope of victory in tonight's Commons vote without openly depending on Ulster Unionists for survival.

As David Trimble's nine Ulster Unionists signalled they would join the three Democratic Unionists in abstaining in tonight's 10pm vote, one Tory backbencher, Quentin Davies, announced he could not support the Government.

But other would-be rebels, including Richard Shepherd, appeared to be pulling back from a decision which would plunge the Government into a full vote of confidence.

Labour and Tory strategists believe that — with the IRA back on the bombing trail — Unionists will also hesitate to help trigger a spring general election. Rumours that the Democratic Unionists had secured concessions over a proposed election in Northern Ireland in exchange for their abstention were strongly denied last night.

Scott did find other shortcomings. There are serious lessons to be learnt. There are issues about the way government works, which we need to discuss. Nor do I say mistakes weren't made.

The Government has abandoned the controversial claim by Sir Nicholas Lyell, the Attorney-General, in the Matrix Churchill case that ministers have a duty to sign Public Interest Immunity (PII) certificates — gagging orders. The assertion was sharply criticised by Sir Richard Scott.

At the time Michael Heseltine was the only minister to express grave doubts which were not properly communicated to the trial judge. Yesterday Mr Heseltine led the ministerial media team defending John Major's refusal to insist on resignations — proof, Opposition MPs said, of the Government's desperate determination to hang on.

"Yes, and I think they should. I've read every word of the report about William Waldegrave [the criticised former Foreign Office minister, now at the Treasury] and it's inconceivable that man would set out to deceive anybody," he said, without similarly defending Sir Nicholas.

Ministers will be given more discretion before signing PII certificates and — unlike the Matrix Churchill case — will take personal responsibility for claims that documents should be suppressed. Sir Nicholas told the Scott inquiry that prosecution counsel, and not ministers, were responsible for deciding which documents could be disclosed — a view Sir Richard vigorously contested.

Ministers will be told to approach PII claims with the presumption that documents should be disclosed rather than suppressed. Ian Lang, the Trade and Industry Secretary, is also expected to announce changes in the 1939 export control law.

But the Government rejects the Scott recommendation that blanket PII claims should never be used in criminal trials.

Leader comment, and Letters, page 5; Paul Foot and Geoffrey Roberts, page 5

Scott: The balance of votes

For	Against
Conservative: 326	Labour: 270
	Lib Dem: 25
	SDLP: 4
	SNP: 4
	Plaid Cymru: 4
Undecided	
Ulster Unionists: 9	
DUP: 3	
Ind Unionist: 1	
Ind Conservative: 1	

'Clear-up con' by police

David Pallister

TWO West Midlands police officers have been suspended following allegations that they artificially improved the force's detection rates by persuading prisoners to confess to crimes they had not committed.

A force spokesman said yesterday that the officers — Stephen Baleswell and Detective Constable Michael Sabin — will face a criminal investigation by the complaints and discipline department.

Yesterday's News of the World alleged that prisoners were taken to pubs and restaurants, and to see relatives or girlfriends in return for signing blank statement forms. These would then be filled in with unsolved offences, the paper said.

One prisoner, Tony Moss, told the paper that he admitted five offences in order to visit his mother and left the rest of the form blank. The newspaper published a "sup-

plementary incident register" showing that he had confessed to 120 offences. Another prisoner claimed he falsely confessed to 350.

The force's high rates of clear-ups by "Secondary Means", which involve mainly post-sentence prison visits, was highlighted in the 1995 report of the Inspectorate



of Constabulary. It noted: "The detections for burglary of dwellings have been heavily dependent on post sentence visit clear-ups, which have increased to well above national levels".

West Midlands claimed that 80.2 per cent of detected burglaries were cleared up in this way, compared with a national average of 42.7 per cent. Nearly half of all crimes were said to have been cleared up through post sentence prison visits compared with a national average of about 18 per cent.

The report said: "Her Majesty's Inspector was concerned at the high proportion of detections achieved by way of secondary means, the bulk of which are from admissions by persons serving custodial sentences."

Robin Corbett, Labour MP for Erdington, in Birmingham, said: "These are serious allegations of malpractice which the West Midlands police are right to deal with in a serious manner."

Exclusive extract from his new book

Peter Mandelson: How Labour will change Britain

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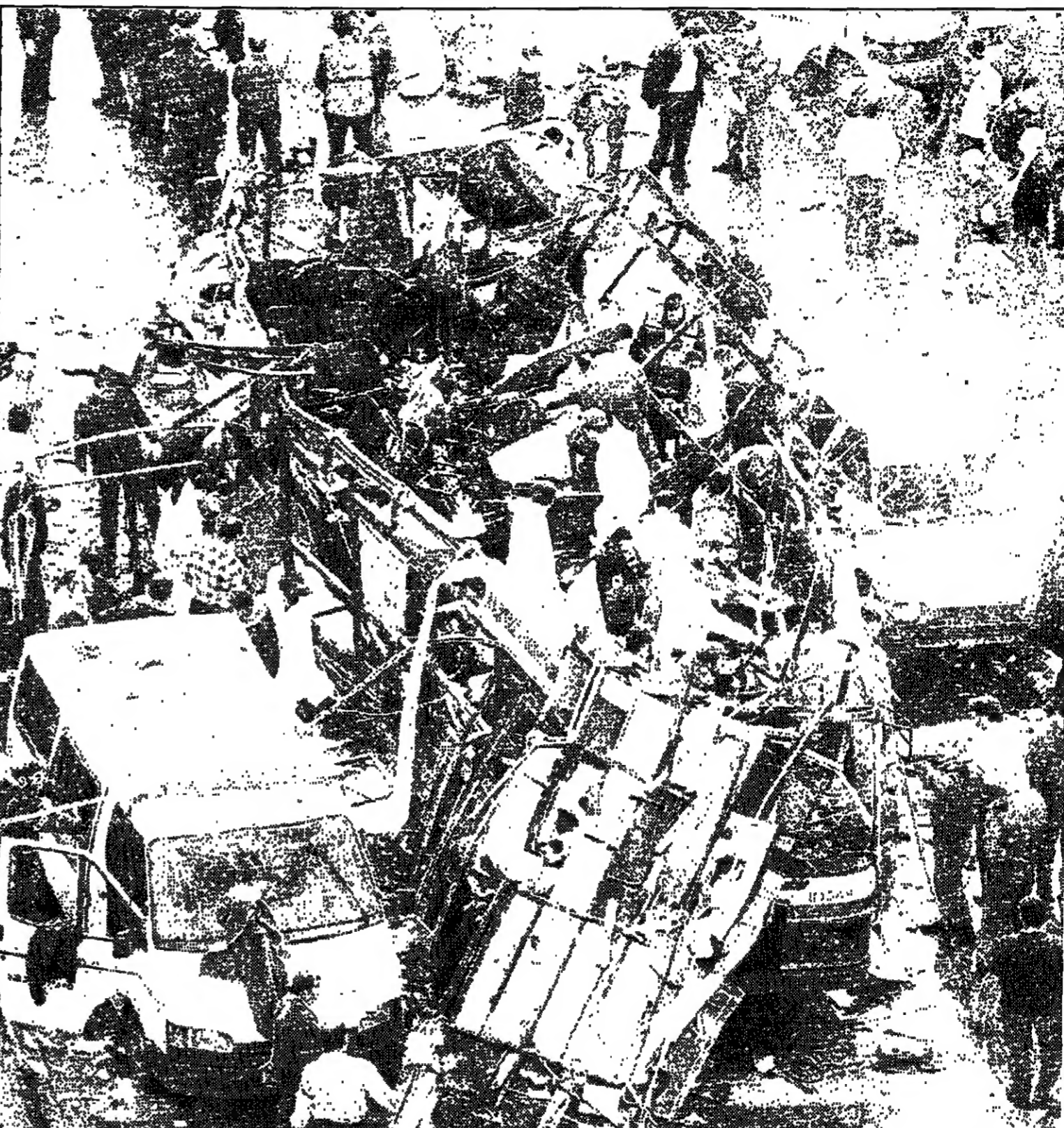


How the BBC drives people mad

Media

G2 page 7/9

Hamas claims responsibility for savage blow to Middle East peace



Rescue workers inspect the wreckage of the No 18 Egged bus ripped apart by a suicide bomb in Jerusalem yesterday

PHOTOGRAPH BY TAL WASHAYEV

Double suicide bomb attacks kill 25 in Israel

Islamist terrorists hit Jerusalem bus and hitch-hiking soldiers

Derek Brown and Jessica Berry in Jerusalem

ISLAMIST suicide bombers struck a savage double blow to the fragile Middle East peace yesterday, killing 25 people and wounding scores more.

Two explosions brought bloody mayhem to the heart of Jerusalem, and to a crowded soldiers' hitch-hiking station on a busy road outside the southern port of Ashkelon. The death toll was the highest in a single day since Israel and the PLO signed their first peace deal in September 1993.

The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, claimed responsibility in an anonymous call to Israeli Radio. Later, in a leaflet, the group boasted of "an intelligence and military victory", and said the attacks were retaliation for the assassination of master bomber Yahya Ayyash on January 5.

The bombings also came two years to the day since the Hebron massacre, when Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein mowed down 29 Palestinians in a mosque.

Ayyash, known as the Engineer, was killed by a booby-trapped mobile telephone, almost certainly planted by Israeli agents. At his funeral,

crowds of Hamas supporters chanted: "We want buses, we want cars."

Yesterday, they got their bus, and their car. In the first of the outrages, a powerful bomb, packed with nails and ball-bearings, ripped through a packed commuter bus in the heart of Jerusalem. Almost exactly one hour later, a car bomb scythed into a crowd of soldiers waiting for lifts at a hitch-hiking post at a busy crossroads outside Ashkelon. Hamas and the smaller mil-

"This is a terrorist operation," said Mr Arafat. "I condemn it completely"

lignant group, Islamic Jihad, launched a series of bus bombings and other suicide attacks between the spring of 1994 and the summer of 1995. Yesterday's bombings were the first since last August.

Twenty-three people died in the Jerusalem bus bombing, and two more in Ashkelon. Around 80 were wounded, of whom 14 were still on the critical list last night.

Body parts and lumps of human flesh littered the street, as ambulances and

rescue teams struggled to restore some kind of order.

Israel responded immediately by closing its borders with the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, most of which are controlled by the self-rule Palestinian Authority headed by Yasser Arafat.

The prime minister, Shimon Peres, insisted that the peace process would continue, and called on Mr Arafat to "take tough measures to halt the actions of Hamas".

Mr Arafat also denounced the bombings. "It is not a military operation. I condemn it completely," he said. Within hours of the bombings, Palestinian police had arrested about 40 Hamas activists. The roundup is expected to continue.

One Hamas activist, who preferred to remain anonymous, blamed Mr Arafat for trying to make peace with Israel. "This dialogue is not going anywhere. Armed attacks now cannot damage us any more. And we are not afraid of the Palestinian Authority's crackdowns," he said.

In Washington, President Clinton said the bombings "offend the conscience of the world". In a message of support to Mr Peres, John Major said London had recently suffered a bus bombing. "So I know all too well the devastation they will have caused".

Peres could pay at polls, page 7; Leader comment, page 8

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Sketch

Belfast's silent plea for peace



David Sharrock

It was the most shameful demonstration Belfast has seen, and for that reason one of the most affecting. The signal for the "silent scream of peace" was to have been the tolling of church bells at three o'clock, followed by 10 minutes' silence and more bells. The same would happen at the same time in other towns and cities in Ireland, England and the United States. But the silence and the bells were swamped by the noise of a city at work and play. At 10 minutes past three a young man from the crowd outside City Hall took the initiative, climbed a plinth and called for the demonstration to start. Several thousand paper doves were held aloft and there was quiet in the sunshine under a blue sky. A substantial pocket of Sinn Féin members thrust their own posters high: "Make peace work, negotiate now." Socialist Workers hoisted their weekly paper, Families Against Intimidation and Terror carried placards, Ulster Unionist Party members mingled with pensioners, young families with new-born children and foreign students. Then Gordon Burns, a television presenter and one of the organisers, asked the people standing next to him to start chanting: "Ceasefire now. Give us back our peace." It took a while to carry but slowly, in the fashion of a Mexican wave, the slogan worked its way through the crowds like a sigh turning into a roar. Somebody started a slow handclasp which grew. A few bars of "all we are saying is give peace a chance" floated upwards to join the laughter. Others sobbed. The Sinn Féin contingent kept their mouths shut. Jim Gibney, a member of Gerry Adams' Falls Road branch, said "who helped build the republican movement's peace strategy which the IRA demol-

ished a fortnight ago, looked like a man with a foot in each camp. With one hand he clasped his party's poster, but his other was attached to the end of a blue banner bearing a dove and the much simpler message: "We want peace." A lady from Belfast's middle-class Lisburn Road stood shoulder to shoulder with him, unaware whom she was sharing her banner with. "The last 18 months have been heaven on earth," she said. "I want it back. We're all sick of the violence and the politicians." Mr Gibney had more to say. "I think it's legitimate for people to call for a cessation. Sinn Féin would like the ceasefire reinstated, but what we are saying is the most realistic way of achieving that is for the British Government to set a date for all-party talks." He hadn't experienced any hostility from those around him, most of whom agreed with him that now was the sensible time to talk. It was poignant: the wannabe politician and the woman who was sick of politicians, standing side by side. Suzie and Charlie Miller had brought their children. "It's for these wee fellows that we've come," said Charlie, his two-year-old son Jonathan swinging on his back as Robert and Corior, both aged four, stood politely next to him. "Jonathan was born just as we thought the Troubles had finally ended. I wouldn't want him to have to grow up with what we've seen." A few steps away Oonagh Armstrong and her English husband Richard Dixon stood with their 15-month-old daughter Cara. Oonagh is from Belfast, and the couple were in London when the IRA ceasefire began. "We left because we thought London was becoming too violent a place to bring up a child," Oonagh said. "I vividly remember what it was like here in the early 70s. I've friends who lost limbs in bombs, relatives killed. The first major bomb scare here and we're leaving." The symphony of human sounds built to a crescendo of applause and smiles. It was over as suddenly as it began: no speeches, no collations. It sank so easily. If only making peace was such a piece of cake.

Review

Birthday salute to master composer

Andrew Clements

Games and inscriptions: Kurtág at 70 South Bank Centre, London THE Hungarian György Kurtág, master of the living composers, was 70 last Monday. Celebrations are planned throughout the year, but the London Sinfonietta offered its own well-conceived tribute in the Purcell Room and the Queen Elizabeth Hall at the weekend — two days of concerts that included two of Kurtág's masterpieces and a clutch of British premieres. The composer and his wife were scheduled to perform, but failed to make the trip from Vienna. If the enigma of Kurtág was kept intact, the concerts gave shape to his output, and a fierce awareness of his power and uniqueness. Kurtág's output remains small — the handwritten magic opus number of 32, and many of those pieces have taken years to complete. He has consistently worked on a small-scale, assembling exquisitely crafted miniatures into larger schemes, whose cumulative effect is immeasurably greater than the sum of their parts. For his emotional range is far from that of a minimalist: it's hard to think of another major composer of our time whose music contains a greater range of experience and fear. The event led off on Friday with a performance by Valdimir Anderson and Thomas Adès of Kurtág's first major score, his concerto for solo piano and piano. The Sayings of Peter Bornemissza, com-

pleted in 1968. Saturday evening, the music began with the 1980 Messages Of The Late Miss R V Troussouva, one of the milestones in post-war European music, passionately sung by Rosemary Hardy. The Troussouva cycle epitomises Kurtág's greatness; it is a collection of texts by the Russian Rimma Dalos in a sequence of surreally intense movements. The world of sound and gesture is utterly distinctive, the instrumental writing full of dark, clangorous effects, the vocal lines veriginously expressionist. The tribute ended with the London première of Rückblick, completed two years ago. It's not really a new work, but Kurtág's recycling of tiny motifs, his obsessive reworking of works, shaped into an hour-long sequence. The substantial novelties of the weekend had come earlier with the British premieres of his 1990 Double Concerto for piano and cello, the Grabstein for Stephan, for guitar and orchestra. The Double Concerto suggested a new continuity in his music, with two extended movements in which the soloists and their attendant ensembles arrayed around the hall. Grabstein ("Gravestone") also places instruments around the auditorium, while the solo guitar remains the quiet elegiac focus of the music. There is a single terrifying climax, a spasm of violence which unleashes the full force of the spatial brass, and then a quiet, transcendently beautiful close. It's over in nine minutes: there's hardly another composer working today who could say so much in such a concentrated way.

Cabinet report contradicted on export of lethal weapons

David Pallister

ONE question MPs will want to pursue is the way the British Government granted export licences for vast quantities of munitions that were diverted to both Iraq and Iran. One unreported section of the Scott report shows how a Scottish company, Allivane

International Ltd, was exporting tens of millions of pounds worth of ammunition that fuelled the Iran-Iraq war — contradicting the Cabinet Office briefing that "the report confirms that no lethal weapons were exported." Sir Richard discovered that licences were approved even after customs officials had begun an investigation into the company in August 1987.



Family affair... The coffins of two members of the Majid clan killed in the attack on the "failed traitors" are carried through the streets of Baghdad at the weekend

Iraq puts official seal on 'tribal' killings

The presence of Saddam's sons at the funeral of 'martyrs' killed in the murderous attack on the president's two sons-in-law endorsed the brutal retribution against the defectors, David Hirst in Beirut writes



Hussein Kamel (left) and his brother Saddam Kamel, President Saddam's former close aides and sons-in-law

THE Iraqi state lent its full weight yesterday to the official version of the murder of two returning defectors and some of their relatives, with President Saddam Hussein's two sons, Uday and Qusai, shown on television leading a state funeral for two "martyrs" who died in the administration of spontaneous "tribal justice" against the traitors. But with Arab and other governments denouncing what they saw as fresh proof of the regime's brutality, Iraqi opposition figures said President Saddam had turned his defectors' home with the sole purpose of killing them. One Arab newspaper claimed he had killed Lieutenant-General Hussein Kamel al-Majid and his brother Saddam Kamel al-Majid with his own hand. The defectors, who returned home last week after fleeing to Jordan six months ago, were married to President Saddam's daughters but a day before their deaths it

was announced they had divorced. On Friday they were killed by members of their own Majid clan — to which the president also belongs — in the course of which two other clan members died in what the official media portrayed as heroic martyrdom. Al-Jumhuriyah newspaper published the message which the Majids addressed to President Saddam concerning the defectors, telling him that "though you have pardoned their shameful deeds it was our duty to cut off the traitors' heads, to extirpate this treasonous branch of the family tree." There were unconfirmed reports yesterday of tribal clashes around President Saddam's home town of Tikrit, where the two Majid "martyrs" who died in the affair were buried. Uday and his brother Qusai attended the funeral in Tikrit. One of President Saddam's former companions, Saleh Omar Ali, said that the murder of two defectors, as well

as their father Kamel al-Majid, a third brother and other relatives, would have "drastic repercussions within the ranks of the ruling family." Other opposition figures disagreed, saying that for the time being President Saddam has emerged with new strength and self-confidence. They added, however, that he will need them to cope with his main challenge, which is the "food-for-oil" deal he is trying to strike with the United Nations. As a result of the stalemate in New York negotiations, the Iraqi dinar, which rose from about 3,000 to the dollar to 800 in a month, is falling again, and the price of basic foodstuffs rising. Before leaving for London yesterday on route to the United States, where he will argue for urgent action on Iraq, King Hussein said he was disgusted by the killings. "We must all do the impossible to prevent Iraq exploding in a way that will affect the entire region," he warned, adding that "Iran has big ambitions in Iraq, and perhaps Syria has aims too." Kuwaitis openly rejoiced over the murder of the man they deemed a war criminal because of his brutal and destructive rule in the occupation of their country. "This is the answer to the prayers of widows and orphans in Kuwait and others who lost loved ones at Hussein Kamel's hand," wrote the deputy editor of al-Qabas newspaper. Citing travellers arriving in Amman from Baghdad, the London-based newspaper al-Sharq al-Awsal reported that President Saddam himself had interrogated the two men and then killed them. Some reports said that his elder son Uday — who had embraced the two men at the Iraqi frontier with tears in his eyes — planned or personally led the "tribal" attack on the house in Baghdad where they were held. Other reports said that his uncle, former defence minister Ali Hassan al-Majid led it in a bid to expunge the stain on his clan's honour. The London-based al-Hayat newspaper said that the reason why President Saddam ordered the two men's 75-year-old father to be killed too, even though he held him in special esteem, was because the president had personally assured the old man that they would be spared if they returned. The assurance was reportedly one reason why they took that suicidal decision. But other reports said this

MP in top Tories' debt

David Hencke and Michael White

THE Tory MP at the centre of claims of a secret deal between Tory grandees and banks to avoid him being declared bankrupt said yesterday his financial position was under control. Roy Thomson, MP for the safe West Midlands seat of Bromsgrove, whose business empire hit financial troubles during the recession, said he was under no threat of going bankrupt. Commenting on reports in yesterday's Sunday Times that the former Tory cabinet minister Lord Younger had intervened with a French-owned London bank, UBC, to prevent the bank pressing a £1 million claim against the MP, Mr Thomson said: "I have no personal knowledge of these meetings but that is

not to say that they did not take place. It was reported that five major British banks had agreed to hold off from taking action against Mr Thomson for debts of £8 million owed to them until after the general election, following Lord Younger's intervention. If he had pursued him for the money, it could have led to him being declared bankrupt, forcing his resignation as an MP. Such a move would have threatened the Government's fragile majority. Mr Thomson was unable to comment about any such discussions. But he said: "My financial position is under control and I have no threats of bankruptcy." He added: "As far as I can recall I have never met Lord Younger and never had a meeting with senior Conservatives to discuss my financial arrangements. Certain

matters in the past have caused me concern in that companies I was involved with, I believe, have gone or are going into liquidation. But I ceased to be a director of them in 1992." One former minister, who would not be named, told the Guardian yesterday that senior Tories have agreed to meet "all the interest payments on Mr Thomson's debts for two years" to avoid him being forced to resign. Another Midlands Tory MP said: "I understand a refinancing deal has been done." But Labour demanded an investigation by the new parliamentary commissioner, Sir Gordon Downey, charged with overseeing MPs' interests following the Nolan inquiry. Labour MP Jeff Rooker said last night: "If this is true he is receiving a pecuniary interest which is not declared in the Register of MPs' interests."

Mandelson's plan to get a grip on Whitehall

Michael White Political Editor

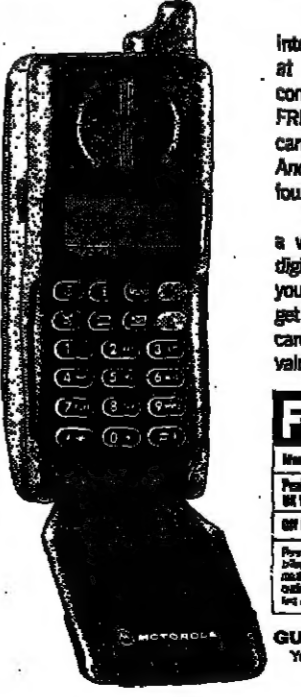
PETER Mandelson says today that a Labour government should improve its grip on the Whitehall machine through the creation of "super-ministries" and a strengthened political team around Tony Blair in Downing Street. His call for the appointment of a "non-ministerial political manager inside No 10" comes in his new book, serialised in today's Guardian. It struck some fellow-MPs as a job description for himself, as a key Blair adviser who has no immediate claims to high office after customs officials had begun an investigation into the company in August 1987.

ing he has constructive ideas about policy and how Labour would retain power for at least two terms. Both his book — co-written with ex-Social Democrat Roger Liddle — and an interview yesterday with BBC's On The Record stress the need to "build a coalition of support for what the Labour government is doing right across the country." In his TV interview Mr Mandelson gave cautious backing to a compromise formula for electoral reform as part of a future Labour government's drive to win such support for a "programme of national renewal" in which Mr Blair might seek active cooperation from the Liberal Democrats. Though he was careful not to tread on shadow cabinet

tees he acknowledged "common strands of belief between ourselves and some Liberal Democrats" — which instantly raised Labour hackles. While rejecting pure forms of proportional representation because it encouraged extremist parties he went on to endorse the alternative vote system which allows voters to express preferences between candidates in single-member constituencies. Mr Mandelson dismissed talk of coalitions, pacts and places for Lib Dems in a Blair cabinet as not something that "arises now" and contrasted it with "principled cooperation between like-minded people in Parliament and across the country."

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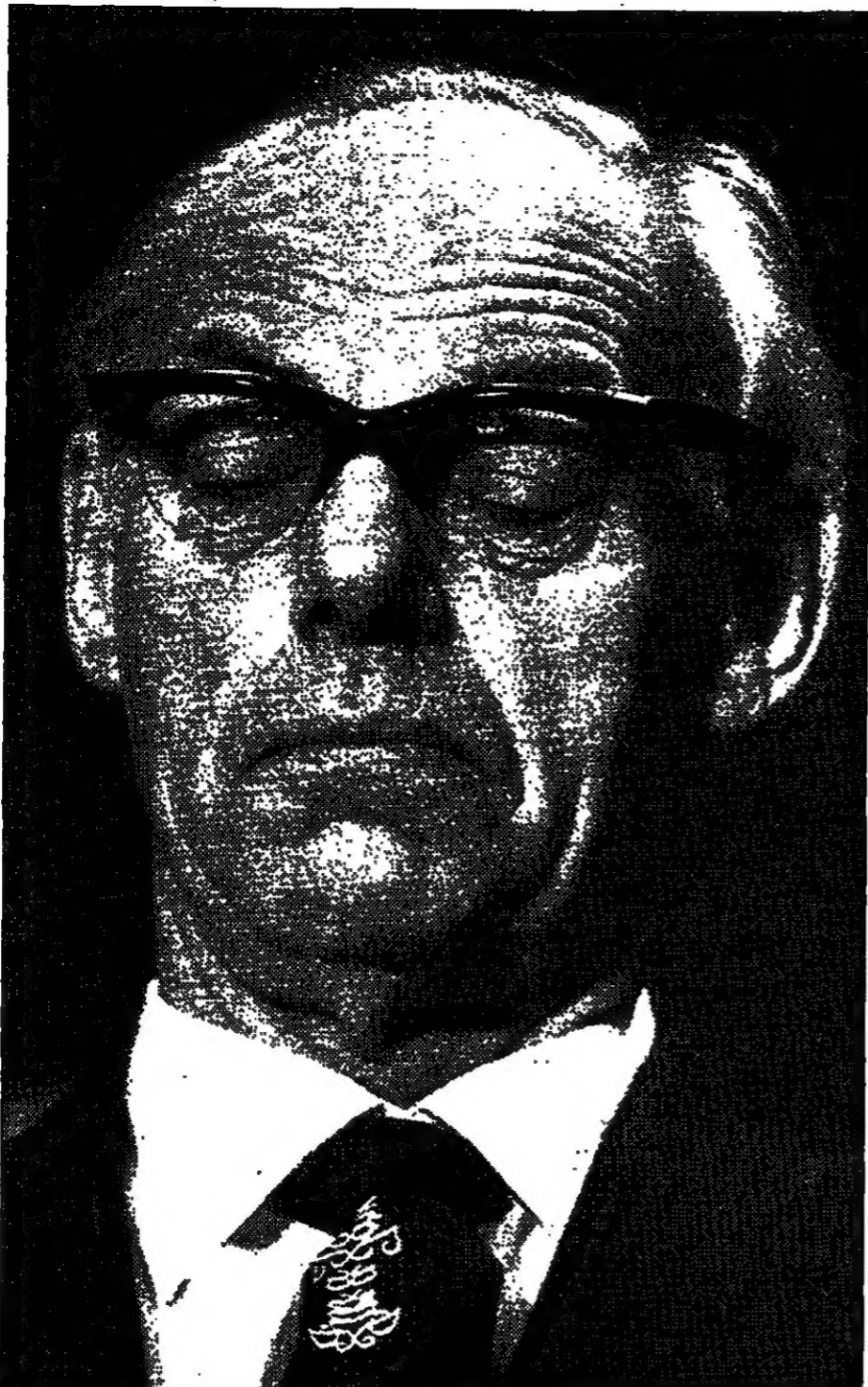
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Edward Pilkington on Denis Thatcher's dramatic transformation from golf-obsessed buffoon to renaissance man

Dear Bill: gin-soaked halfwit was all a ruse



Eyes down... Denis Thatcher 'agreed to play along with his image' PHOTOGRAPH: DON MCPHIE From left, biographer Carol Thatcher, Bill Deedes, and John Wells (acting as Sir Denis)

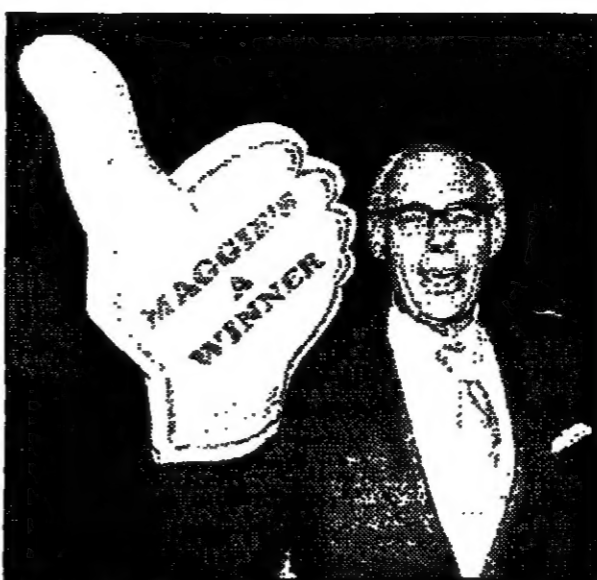
EVER since the first "Dear Bill" column appeared in Private Eye on May 18, 1979, two weeks after his wife acquired the keys to Number 10, he has been perceived by the general public as a juniper-sozzled, right-wing, golf-obsessed halfwit whose sole aim in life was to sneak another smifter behind the Boss's back.

But a new interpretation of Sir Denis Thatcher was yesterday unveiled by his daughter and a close friend. They say that far from being the buffoon suggested by Private Eye, he is serious, sensitive, intelligent and a man of "great depth of character".

Let anyone find this dramatic reinterpretation from gin-soaked simpleton to renaissance man rather hard to swallow, Carol Thatcher and Lord Deedes, Sir Denis's old friend and golf companion, provide an explanation. During 11 years as escort of the Prime Minister, Mr Thatcher played along with the "Dear Bill" image as a "useful" ruse.

Playing the part of someone whose marbles were not wholly intact would deflect any criticism that as the man behind the throne he was unduly influencing his wife's political decisions.

Lord Deedes, former editor of the Daily Telegraph and the "Bill" to whom Private Eye satirically had Mr Thatcher address his letters, said the play was agreed between him, Denis and Margaret Thatcher soon after she came to power. It was seen as a means of



Hands up... Denis Thatcher wielding a giant glove at a rally, and living up to his satirical image by having a smoke



avoiding the sorts of accusations that latterly have been directed at leading ladies such as Hillary Clinton.

And it worked. "He got through 12 years of his wife as prime minister without dropping a single clanger," Lord Deedes said.

The new characterisation of Sir Denis is officially to be launched in April when HarperCollins publishes Carol Thatcher's biography of her father, with whom she is very close. Below the Parapet will attempt to rewrite history and cast off the Private Eye conceit that clings to him.

"Neither Carol nor I wanted Denis to die with the Dear Bill image pinned round him," Lord Deedes told the Sunday Telegraph.

There are elements of the satirical Denis that ring true, Sir Denis, First Baronet of Kent, in the County of Kent, to give his full title, is golf mad, does have a fondness for Benson & Hedges, and is not immune to the attractions of gin and tonic. He is said to have introduced himself abroad as "that well-known international alcoholic".

On the other hand, somebody who has made himself a millionaire several times

over and sits on the boards of numerous companies is unlikely to be wholly devoid of nous. According to Carol Thatcher, he was Mrs Thatcher's "eyes and ears to the world".

Friends say Sir Denis is more of an old buffer than a buffoon. "He is old-fashioned and out of date," said Lord Archer. "But he has levels of courtesy and good manners that we can all learn from."

The best-selling novelist, who was deputy chairman of the Conservative Party under Mrs Thatcher and shares Sir Denis's passion for rugby, said that if the theory was

true that he had happily cultivated the role of buffoon for Machiavellian political purposes, then "he's even cleverer than I thought British people saw him as a happy-go-lucky man and he may well have wished them to have that impression."

For John Wells, who co-authored the Private Eye column and acted Sir Denis in the single version, the reinterpretation is nothing but "an extremely amusing plot hatched between Carol and Denis". Mr Wells's final analysis remains unchanged: "He's a buffoon — though a very amiable one."

Disgusted of Downing Street

On Canada: "What is Canada full of? Canada, dear boys, is full of f---!"

On the National Lottery: "Totally opposed, old boy. Another of those disgusting Continental habits."

On the Indian city of Goa, at the 1983 Commonwealth Heads of Government meeting: "This place is just too high on the buggeration factor."

On avoiding embarrassment at boring foreign functions: "I use the old army trick of leaning forward and putting my forefinger in the roof of my mouth. That way, if you fall asleep you either wake up or you're sick."

On the BBC: "It is full of Marxists."

On John Major's government: "A bunch of socialists."

Lady Thatcher on Denis: "With Denis there, I was never alone. What a man. What a husband. What a friend."

Fury in book world as WH Smith turns the screw on publishers

Lisa Buckingham

WH SMITH, the newsagency-to-our Price records group, has sparked fury in the publishing world by exercising its muscle as Britain's biggest bookseller and imposing far tougher terms of trade on its suppliers.

The group is understood to be demanding much bigger discounts from publishers and to be insisting that it is allowed to buy books on a sale or return basis with an extended credit period.

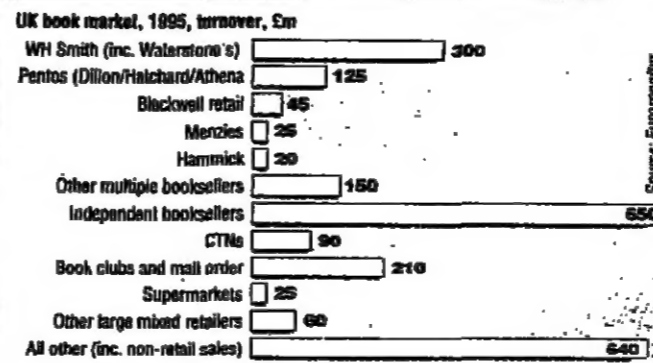
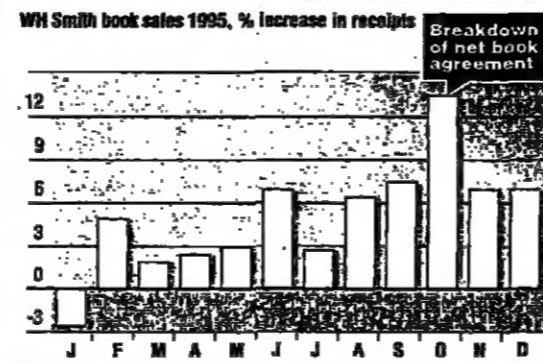
A leaked internal memo from Jo Howard, the head of adult books, to branch managers says they must insist on a discount of at least 48 per cent on all local books and these

must be bought only on sale or return with 60 days' credit. One small local publisher predicted the new terms would force his local history and pub guide business into bankruptcy. "This will wipe out a lot of small publishers," he said.

"Others will be forced to increase their prices," Smith's has a virtual monopoly in our business and if they had contacted us we could all have tried to help them improve their margins. But we simply can't cope with them doing this overnight.

It is understood that Smith's, which sells about one in every four books, has also issued new contracts to larger publishers. "They are in the strongest position to be heavy handed

Bookselling market



and they are being just that," said one senior publisher. Smith's declined to comment on its terms of trade

saying they were confidential and it refused to discuss whether its new tactics were a response to tougher trading

conditions following the end of the Net Book Agreement, which allowed price competition on books.

But a newly published survey from Book Marketing suggests that the collapse of the agreement failed to create

any extra growth in book sales. Large sales increases were needed to compensate for discounted prices.

Smith's whose profits have been hit by increasing competition from supermarkets and upheaval in newspaper distribution, recently issued its second profits warning in less than a year and is hoping that book promotions will help revive its flagging core WH Smith retail chain.

New management at the group, under the former Post Office chief executive Bill Cockburn, is clearly taking a tougher line on what it regards as an unhealthy cosy relationship between its buyers and the publishers' sales forces.

The company is understood to be insisting that there

should be no face-to-face meetings with publishers' sales representatives and an article in The Bookseller claims Smith's is planning to charge publishers £200 for the right to show their new titles to its buying team.

"This approach may look tough, but it is not shrewd," said another leading publishing executive. "Bad relationships with publishers will not lead to clever and sensitive stocking which is what Smith's needs to improve sales."

A spokeswoman for Smith's denied the group was being badly hit by overstocking even though the internal memo states that some branches currently have 88 weeks of forward stock in local books.

Guardian targeted over military ban on gays

Angela Johnson

THE Ministry of Defence is attempting to influence media reporting of an armed forces internal review document which recommends that its ban on homosexuals remain unchanged, according to a confidential report.

A media action plan, which forms part of the leaked homosexuality policy assessment team's report, highlights the importance of winning over publications like the Guardian in preparation for the document's official release on March 19. It suggests that the release should be managed to give "an impression of open-mindedness and conclusions based on rational, practical management considerations".

Filming facilities for television should highlight crowded mess decks on ships and other living conditions, but particularly advanta-

geous would be a feature article published in a major newspaper.

"Despite (or because of) its generally hostile editorial stance, such a piece, emphasising the depth and breadth of the report would probably have most effect in the Guardian."

Angela Mason of Stonewall, the lesbian and gay pressure group, said: "It is clear that they are trying to manipulate media and public opinion in support of a biased report." She called for a fresh independent inquiry.

Last October the Court of Appeal rejected the case of four homosexual service personnel who had challenged their sacking, but recommended that the policy be reviewed in the light of changing social attitudes and the policies of other countries.

The review team — comprising service personnel and civil servants — will present its report to a parliamentary

4. An in-depth one-to-one briefing on a background basis for a selected journalist for a feature-type piece to appear on the day of publication. Despite (or because of) its generally hostile editorial stance, such a piece, emphasising the depth and breadth etc of the report would probably have most effect in "The Guardian".

select committee on the Armed Forces Bill next month.

It has decided that "any relaxation of the existing policy is likely to have a detrimental effect on operational effectiveness". There would be "reduced cohesion and increased friction" if homosexuality was accepted in the armed forces, the report concluded.

But Stonewall said the findings are biased, because the Government has allowed the Ministry of Defence to act as "judge and jury" in its own cause.

The report also suggests that the ministry had a "reasonable chance" of winning any legal challenge in

British courts, but should it lose compensation payments would be "small".

If the challenge was taken to the European Court of Justice under the equal treatment directive, "we have a small chance of losing; in the event... compensation would be substantial."

Should the case go before the European Court of Human Rights, however, it accepts that losing was the most likely outcome.

"That would be in three or four years' time and in the meantime we certainly have a respectable case which could be argued robustly," it adds.

Any compensation payment in this instance would be small.

The Government is hoping that the findings will strengthen Britain's argument in Strasbourg that the current policy is necessary to protect national security.

The report also speculates that a "no open homosexuality" rule might meet the same objectives — even though it is disregarded as an option.

Ms Mason called for a new independent inquiry to look at the issues. "This one was not impartial, MoD chiefs publicly declared their determination to keep the ban at all costs," she said.

"They sent letters through the chain of command saying armed forces minister Nicholas Soames had asked for evidence in support."

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Mike Selvey on another England collapse

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Major and Bruton thrash out plans for summit

McGuinness talks to officials again

David Sharrock and Leonard Deyle

SINN Fein's Martin McGuinness will today hold his first meeting with government officials since the IRA ended its ceasefire a fortnight ago.

The meeting at Stormont comes amid efforts — including an hour-long telephone call last night between John Major and the Irish prime minister, John Bruton — to finalise an Anglo-Irish summit for tomorrow.

The two governments are close to agreement on a package of proposals for reviving the peace process, including elections, a referendum and a date for the commencement of all-party talks.

Mr McGuinness said yesterday that the absence of "real" dialogue had caused the peace process to collapse.

"Any new process must contain copper-fastened and unambiguous public assurances that all-party talks will be initiated by both governments at the earliest possible date," he said.

His deliberate failure to mention elections in Northern Ireland was taken as a positive sign, since Sinn Fein has until now opposed the idea, which was proposed by

the Democratic Unionist leader, Ian Paisley, and taken up by the Ulster Unionist leader, David Trimble.

In another sign that nationalists might be prepared to accept elections as the price of round-table talks, the Social Democratic and Labour Party leader, John Hume, indicated that his party was prepared to take part.

Mr Hume said on the BBC's Breakfast with Frost programme that he would not object to an election to determine the support of each party entering talks if it was held on the same day as an all-Ireland referendum.

He said he was confident that the IRA would restore its ceasefire if a date for talks was set.

But on the same programme Mr Trimble said there had to be a total and absolute end to violence before this could take place.

"That is what we want, and that is what we must have," he said. "Not just a ceasefire, because if there was a new ceasefire what credibility would it have? They continued violence, they twisted and turned whenever asked to make a commitment."

International pressure on the IRA mounted last week when senior Irish-American activists informed its army council that it must re-establish

the ceasefire and return to the political strategy mapped out by the Sinn Fein leader, Gerry Adams, or be abandoned by the US support network which has funded, armed and stood by the organisation throughout the past 25 years of conflict in Northern Ireland.

"If the IRA has depended on Irish-American support in the past, it cannot do so anymore," a key activist said.

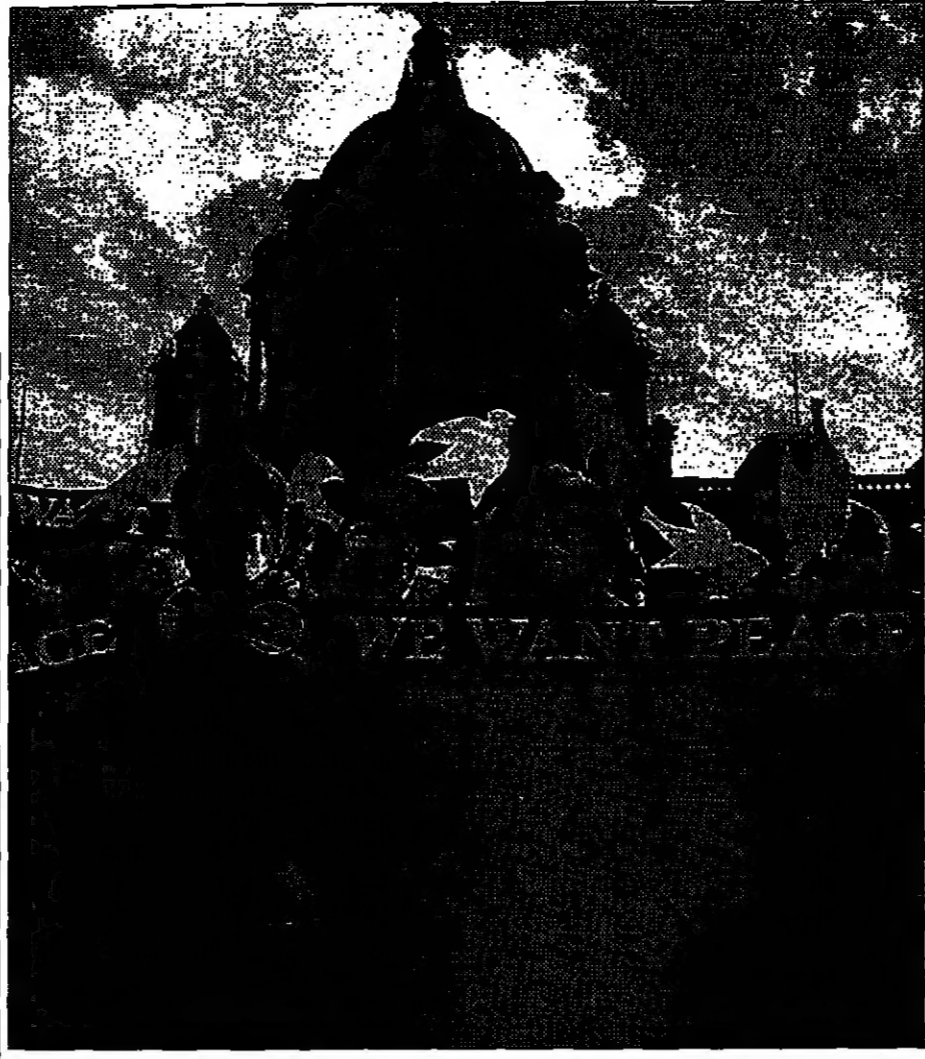
Tens of thousands of people demonstrated for peace on both sides of the Irish border yesterday.

Mr Bruton led a march for peace in his home village of Dunboyne, County Meath, where he vilified the IRA for ending its ceasefire.

"We are not going to allow the agenda for this democracy to be set by the army council of the IRA," he said.

"This secret organisation, whose membership is unknown, who are accountable to no one, who do not stand before the public to get approval for what they do, has no right to act on our behalf."

"And the people of Ireland are saying 'stop'."



Some of the 10,000 protesters at Belfast city hall demanding a return to the ceasefire. In the Republic, James Bruton, the Irish prime minister, vilified the IRA. PHOTOGRAPH: PAUL PATRICK

Rival candidate threat hits Labour hopes

Geoffrey Gibbs

A FORMER Labour MP and anti-apartheid campaigner is threatening to sabotage the party's hopes of winning the Exeter seat at the next election unless it drops the controversial South African-born lawyer John Lloyd as its candidate.

Mr Lloyd, who fought the seat for Labour in 1992, was re-elected at a meeting in August and has strong local support in the Devon city where he is deputy leader of the council.

But the reselection has drawn fierce criticism from some sections of the party following the disclosure that Mr Lloyd — a member of the African Resistance Movement in the 1960s — gave state evidence against a fellow activist, John Harris, who was later hanged.

Peter Jackson, who represented High Peak in Derbyshire in the 1960s, has written to Tom Sawyer, Labour's general secretary, urging the party's National Executive Committee to reopen selection

because of concern about events leading to Mr Harris's execution.

In his letter, a copy of which has been obtained by the Guardian, Mr Jackson says that unless Mr Lloyd is cleared by South Africa's Truth Commission, which is investigating crimes carried out under the apartheid regime, he will respond to the wishes of unnamed party members in Exeter "and stand as a Labour candidate".

His threat comes as the NEC prepares to consider a report on the affair at its meeting on Wednesday. However, Mr Lloyd's supporters appear unmoved by the prospect of a rival. Den Ferrin, constituency secretary and agent, said: "John is so well known in Exeter that even if he calls himself some funny Labour name I really am confident it is not going to make a jot of difference."

Local backing for Mr Lloyd was reaffirmed last week when the constituency party's AGM voted heavily in favour of a motion reaffirming its "wholehearted support" for him.

Labour to back terrorism act

Alan Travis Home Affairs Editor

LABOUR is to drop its 13-year opposition to the renewal of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, the shadow home secretary, Jack Straw confirmed yesterday.

The historic shift, allied with a new recognition that some parts of Michael Howard's new headline law sentencing package deals with genuine problems, is expected to trigger a turbulent debate within the Labour Party.

But shadow cabinet sources are confident that it will not provoke the kind of fierce row that would have been seen over the issue three or four years ago.

Mr Straw said yesterday, with the backing of Tony Blair, that he would be asking the shadow cabinet later this week to back the shift in policy on anti-terrorism legislation. The Commons is due to renew the act early next month.

Although it was a Labour government which first introduced the Prevention of Terrorism Act in 1974, the party has opposed its annual renewal since 1983.

Its criticism focused on the use of exclusion orders to create a system of "internal exile" and powers to detain people for four days without recourse to the courts.

Mr Straw said that in recent years the main difference with the Government was whether there should be

a fundamental review of the workings of the act.

"That fundamental review was set up last year. Now we have a renewal of the bombing campaign by the IRA. We do not want any message to go out to them that they could have any idea from our position that there could be any kind of excuse for the renewal of the bombing by them."

He told the ITV Dimbleby programme that the shadow cabinet had already agreed to back the renewal of the Emergency Powers Act but acknowledged there may yet be opposition. Jeremy Corbyn, the leftwing MP for Islington North, has already voiced criticism saying there was no evidence the act had stopped a single bomber.

"The Conservatives have repeatedly used Labour's opposition to the Prevention of Terrorism Act to claim it is 'soft on law and order'."

Mr Straw yesterday moved to defuse similar charges over his attitude towards Mr Howard's tough sentencing package which has been under repeated attack from senior members of the judiciary.

"There was a serious problem in dealing with repeat rapists who had to be released too early because the courts had to sentence them to a specified term."

He was attracted to a version of the Government's proposal for an automatic life sentence for repeat rapists under which the parole board rather than the Home Secretary set the release date.

Prisons ombudsman seeks 'test of strength' talks

Alan Travis

SIR Peter Woodhead, the Prisons ombudsman, will meet the Home Secretary this week amid claims he is prepared to resign over attempts to restrict his scope to investigate complaints.

The Prison Service has refused to release crucial files to the former Nato deputy supreme commander in an attempt to block him investigating ministerial decisions which affect the 3,200 category A life-sentence inmates.

The service is insisting his remit should only allow him to investigate complaints about "operational matters" and not "policy decisions".

A High Court judge has described the situation as most unsatisfactory. The split between policy and operation was at the heart of the dispute which led to the resignation of Derek Lewis as director-general last year.

The job of prisons ombudsman was set up 18 months ago as one of the last recommendations of the Woolf inquiry

into the 1990 Strangeways prison riots to be acted upon.

The showdown meeting on Wednesday to "discuss the operation of the ombudsman's office" is expected to involve an attempt by the Michael Howard to exclude from Sir Peter's remit all grievances voiced by inmates which refer to ministerial decisions or Civil Service advice to ministers — as well as those involving life-sentence inmates. He would also be banned from demanding access to all the Civil Service paperwork in a particular case.

"He would only be able to look at complaints about lost property. It is an open secret in the prison service that this will be a crucial test of strength," said a Prison Service source.

A Prison Service spokesman said Wednesday's meeting with Mr Howard would clarify Sir Peter's remit: "The original remit was to investigate complaints by prisoners about the Prison Service as an agency, not the decisions of individual ministers."

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ETA stars at Basque carnival

Adela Cooch in San Sebastian

MORE than 150,000 people are expected to vote for a party that condones the use of violence to achieve a separate Basque state when Spain goes to the polls next Sunday. The party's affiliated guerrilla group ETA is responsible for assassinating two men during the campaign and is holding two more hostages.

Herri Batasuna, the political wing of ETA, could get about 22 per cent of the vote in the Basque country, according to a poll published yesterday, down from 15 per cent at the last election but still a vociferous number.

The party had no difficulty filling San Sebastian's football stadium at the weekend with 35,000 people for a campaign rally. Lawyers, doctors and teachers at the rally saw no contradiction between a middle-class lifestyle and their support for an organisation proposing a radical left-wing model for a future independent Basque state.

"Violence is a repression exerted by the Spanish state and its occupying army here," said a well-dressed woman.

"I'm a liberal professional. I'm comfortably off but I still believe in a socialist Basque state," she added, settling back to enjoy the show.

The rally began with a parade of people in traditional Basque costumes and ended with hooded ETA members running on to the pitch.

In between, two mounted knights rode past saluting the crowd, troops in 19th century Basque uniforms fired off a round and small children stood on the podium, where all lamps showed Basque prisoners the way home.

Five masked people burned the stadium's Spanish and French flags as the crowd chanted "long live militant ETA," and held up a huge banner with the ETA logo.

Large placards bearing photographs of the 545 ETA members in jail were carried into the stadium by their families as a giant screen showed film of Franco's troops charging Basque demonstrators.

It was the best choreographed event of the campaign so far, as befits an organisation estimated to be spending 50 million pesetas (£274,000) a day.

The money comes from kidnap ransoms, extortion and drug trafficking, but only the best public face was on show at the weekend. There were fewer of the violent demonstrations organised most weekends by young ETA supporters in Basque towns. "It would be bad for publicity," said one Basque journalist.

"What worries me is not so much that Herri Batasuna can organise a rally like this. They are a disciplined organisation with highly motivated supporters. What worries me is that they succeed in getting a disproportionate amount of attention," said Jaime Mayor Oreja, leader in the Basque country of the conservative Popular Party, which is expected to win the election.

"The problem stems from the failure of Basque democratic forces to present a united front."

But Herri Batasuna argues that you cannot solve a political problem with repression, said Carlos Rodriguez, a member of the party executive.

According to Karmelo Martin, a member of the Basque parliament, the first step must be a referendum.

But the party no longer controls the extreme nationalists. ETA is in the hands of a shadowy, young radical leadership to whom the party is subservient and with whom any rapprochement is considered virtually impossible by democratic politicians.

ETA was a small group, but was holding Basques to ransom, said Mr Mayor Oreja.

Saturday's rally ended with a speech by the party's president, Juan Jose Barrena, who urged the party to support the Maastricht treaty review conference — to extend majority voting, to curb the use of the national veto and to allow countries which wish to integrate faster to do so.

In a paper which commissioners will adopt formally on Wednesday, the Commission says the conference may be "possibly the last chance" to reform the 15-nation EU before enlargement.

Under the theme "A Europe for citizens", the paper says it is essential for the EU "to respond more effectively to its internal needs and have a stronger presence in international affairs" while noting that, at present, "the union does not have the means to achieve these ambitions".

The proposals are more ambitious than expected and



Fighting talk... A masked ETA man raises a clenched fist at the San Sebastian campaign rally, attended by 35,000 people

PHOTOGRAPH: ANTONIO ALONSO

EU blueprint likely to fan the flames of disunion

The latest attempt to propel integration is likely to spark renewed angst in London, reports John Palmer in Brussels

THE debate about Britain's role in the European Union intensifies this week when the Commission unveils a radical new blueprint for closer political integration to help the EU prepare for a future in which it will double its membership.

The European Commission wants the Maastricht treaty review conference — which begins next month — to extend majority voting, to curb the use of the national veto and to allow countries which wish to integrate faster to do so.

In a paper which commissioners will adopt formally on Wednesday, the Commission says the conference may be "possibly the last chance" to reform the 15-nation EU before enlargement.

Under the theme "A Europe for citizens", the paper says it is essential for the EU "to respond more effectively to its internal needs and have a stronger presence in international affairs" while noting that, at present, "the union does not have the means to achieve these ambitions".

The proposals are more ambitious than expected and

conferences until a new and, they hope, more flexible British government has been elected.

The differences of approach between Britain and the rest of the EU are further underlined by Swedish proposals to make full employment goals a part of the Maastricht treaty itself. Britain, which opted out of the Maastricht social chapter, believes the plan would encourage greater economic interventionism by the EU.

To give the EU a sharper

European Union operations brought more under direct EU control.

Like the larger states — including Britain — the Commission accepts that the votes each member state wields in the Council of Ministers should in future reflect more accurately the different national populations. Smaller EU countries may accept some change if the idea of reducing the number of commissioners from the current 11 is abandoned.

One particularly sensitive

Big issues

FIVE key issues will determine the Maastricht treaty review conference's success or failure:

□ **The veto:** A majority of the 15 EU governments, the Commission and the European parliament insist the national veto must be eased as new members join. They want more issues decided by majority voting. Larger states also want to reallocate countries' votes in the Council of Ministers.

□ **The pillars:** Maastricht set up three decision-making "pillars". Some issues are decided under European Community procedures and laws involving the Commission and European parliament, Pillar One. But other matters including foreign and security policy, Pillar Two, and internal security and justice, Pillar Three, are decided by national governments. Most EU states want to see some internal security questions brought fully within EU decision-making, and majority voting extended. Ultimately they want the three pillars to merge.

□ **Foreign and security policy:** A majority of EU states want to see greater majority voting in foreign affairs and external security, although the Nordic states have reservations and Britain is adamantly opposed.

□ **European defence:** The original treaty set out the goal of not only a common European defence policy but a fully integrated defence system. There is very little agreement on whether and how this should be achieved.

□ **European parliament:** There are 23 different law-making procedures involving the European parliament, each depending on the subject being dealt with. There is much support for reducing these to three — co-decision, consultation and information.

international profile, the Commission wants more foreign and security policy decisions taken by majority vote.

Unlike the French government — which wants less of government to appoint a full-time EU foreign policy supreme — the Commission would prefer to share responsibilities in this area with the rotating presidency of the Council of Ministers.

However, on defence, the Commission, France and Germany all want some Western

The proposals are more ambitious than expected and are certain to provoke bitter opposition from the Prime Minister and the British government

issue for Britain is the Commission's wish to see some aspects of internal security and judicial co-operation — including immigration and political asylum — taken from decision by national governments to the EU.

But the Commission accepts that in this area — and perhaps for some equally delicate questions of tax policy — a special system of "super qualified majority voting" should apply to reassure nervous governments.

Chirac linked to phone bugging

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

PRESIDENT Jacques Chirac was named yesterday in a phone tapping scandal involving a leading lawyer and a British journalist.

The revelation in the Journal du Dimanche indicates that phone tapping was common practice across the political spectrum in the 1980s and early 1990s. The late Socialist president, François Mitterrand, has been linked to more

than 2,000 cases of bugging.

The newspaper claims to have obtained the transcript of a conversation in March 1987, between John Ibekoff of the Daily Telegraph and the lawyer, Jacques Vergès, who has represented many controversial clients, including the international terror suspect known as Carlos the Jackal.

The newspaper says the secret service phone tap could only have been authorised by Mr Chirac, then prime minister, or his cabinet secretary, who is now his adviser at the Elysée Palace.

But a security expert said yesterday the phone tap was probably legal because the recorded conversation centred on a terrorist suspect.

A July 1991 law stipulates that wiretapping may be carried out only in cases involving national security, the safeguarding of information essential to France's scientific and economic interests, and the prevention of terrorism and organised crime.

But the revelation has raised questions about how many other interceptions not linked to terrorist cases may have been investigated by Mr Chirac as prime minister.

The Elysée refused to comment yesterday as it became clear that even if blatantly illegal, phone taps were revealed, politicians are protected from legal action by a procedural technicality.

Mr Chirac, his adviser Maurice Ulrich and the then interior minister, Charles Pasqua, would escape prosecution thanks to a split between left and right in the judiciary. Leftwing judges argue that phone taps infringe laws protecting personal freedom, under which cases can be brought up to 10 years after the event. Rightwing lawyers say phone tapping is a breach of privacy legislation, under which cases must be brought within three years.

The newspaper linked phone taps between 1987 and 1993 to socialist and rightwing prime ministers, including Michel Rocard, Edith Cresson, Pierre Bérégovoy and Edouard Balladur. The bugging had been carried out before and after new laws in 1991 limited the practice.

Some of the recorded conversations were linked to terrorist cases or legal action against newspapers but one — during Mr Chirac's prime ministership from 1995 to 1998 — concerned a dinner invitation.

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Chancellor Kohl

Bonn tries to calm fears it will not meet the single currency criteria

GERMAN leaders insist they are sticking to both the timetable and tough financial criteria for Europe's single currency, as concern grows that their country will not qualify to launch the euro in 1999.

The refusal of the Commission and many EU governments to water down or abandon closer political union is bound to increase the gulf already separating the British government from almost everyone else over monetary union. But Britain's EU partners are ready to sit out the

international profile. The Commission wants more foreign and security policy decisions taken by majority vote.

Unlike the French government — which wants less of government to appoint a full-time EU foreign policy supreme — the Commission would prefer to share responsibilities in this area with the rotating presidency of the Council of Ministers.

However, on defence, the Commission, France and Germany all want some Western

Economists and political analysts are increasingly sceptical that many European Union members will be able to meet the tough criteria for budget deficits, debt and inflation that will determine which countries launch the euro.

Even Germany, which has exhorted other EU members to get their finances in order by 1997, to qualify, has acknowledged its public deficit will exceed the ceiling of 3 per cent of GDP this year.

The finance minister,

The Bild am Sonntag newspaper reported that Germany would overshoot the target again next year, with a shortfall just above 4 per cent of GDP — up from the 3.5 per cent forecast for 1996.

It cited a finance ministry report that falling tax revenue stemming from Germany's economic slowdown and its plan to cut record unemployment would push the public deficit to DM150 billion (£67 billion).

The finance minister,

Theo Waigel, dismissed the newspaper report as "pure speculation" and insisted Bonn was sticking to the 1999 start date for the final stage of economic and monetary union (EMU).

The magazine Focus said finance ministry officials were already preparing for the event that only Luxembourg would qualify for the single currency on time. It said they were taking the view that EMU could exist from 1999, but have no members. — Reuter.

News in brief

Copts shot dead in Egypt

Suspected Muslim militants gunned down seven people in a village in southern Egypt at the weekend in renewed violence that has left 23 people dead in the province of Assuit in less than two weeks.

The gunmen opened fire in the main market place of a Coptic Christian village near Badari, 210 miles south of Cairo, on Saturday. The dead were five Copts and two Muslims, police said. The gunmen escaped. — AP.

Jobs protest

Civil servants in Ontario start an open-ended strike today over government cuts, writes *Claire Trevena* in Toronto. More than 100,000 people staged a protest demonstration in the industrial city of Hamilton at the weekend.

Bahrain blast

A blast ripped through a car owned by Nabeely al-Hamer, editor-in-chief of the Bahrain newspaper Al-Ayam, at the weekend, but he escaped injury. Anti-government activists claimed responsibility for the blast. — AP.

Dini's wild card

The weekend decision of Italy's caretaker prime minister,

Lamberto Dini, to form a new centrist political force has thrown a wild card into the campaign for the elections on April 21. The country already has more than 30 political parties. — Reuter.

Turtle's odyssey
A sea turtle called Rosita released in California has turned up in Japan, a third of the way across the world and farther than any other sea creature has been known to swim, according to US researchers. — AP.

Suicide patrol

Security guards will begin patrolling San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge on April 1 to help prevent people from leaping off the well-known landmark to their deaths. More than 1,000 people have committed suicide in that way since the bridge was opened in 1937. — AP.

Star meets Menem

The pop star Madonna, criticised by many Argentines for taking the starring role in the film of the musical Evita, about the late Eva Peron, has finally met President Carlos Menem at his official residence. Mr Menem, a Peronist who had until now given the film's crew a cold shoulder, also met the British director Alan Parker. — Reuter.

Turks reject deal with Islamists

Chris Nuttall in Ankara

AN ALLIANCE between two mainstream centre-right parties to resolve the Turkish political crisis is back on the cards after the collapse of coalition talks at the weekend which represented the Islamic Welfare Party's best hope of power.

Welfare rocked the secular establishment two months ago when led the polls in a general election, taking 158 seats in the new parliament.

Its leader, Necmettin Erbakan, railed at the media, academics and politicians on Saturday for blocking it in the name of secularism.

"These people say they listen to ideas, but not if they're Islamic ones. This is not secularism, it is enmity against religion," he said.

The leader of the centre-right Motherland Party, Mesut Yilmaz, had come under tremendous pressure in the media and even from members of his own party not to do a coalition deal with Welfare. He was accused of selling the principle of the secular republic, set up by Kemal Ataturk in the 1920s, for the sake of power.

"Do not bury your country, your party and yourself in darkness for a prime ministry of a few months," said his bitter rival, the caretaker prime

minister Tansu Ciller. "This would be a very serious mistake and the country would pay for this in the coming months and years."

The hysteria was prompted by the prospect of Mr Erbakan becoming the first Islamic prime minister in the republic's history, as part of a deal with Mr Yilmaz in which they would take turns in office.

The country has an overwhelmingly Muslim population but religion has been kept separate from government.

During the election campaign Mr Erbakan spoke of realigning Turkey with the Islamic world and Muslim practices, putting in question its Nato membership, its customs union with the European Union, and future foreign investment.

Mr Yilmaz said their coalition talks founded on the division of ministries. Welfare, which has proposed an Islamic currency, common market and the end of bank interest, wanted some economic posts and the religious affairs portfolio.

"Leaving this to a party with such a different view of secularism could alter the whole governance of our state," said Mr Yilmaz.

● Venhi Koc, Turkey's richest tycoon, died yesterday aged 94.

"Spencer Tracey didn't go to any school. Brando did, then he forgot everything he learned and became a hit. All I did was just put some animation in. They thought: 'My Gawd, the kid knows what he's doing.'"
Mickey Rooney on the secrets of acting

سكربتات الاصل

Chameleon Pat dons a bandanna

Martin Walker in Mesa, Arizona, finds the quick-shot rightwinger changing wardrobe to rope in the Western vote

SQUINTING under the brim of his black stetson at the west array of Colt revolvers, Winchester repeaters and all the other guns that won the West, Pat Buchanan is seeking to win it all again by playing a calculated game of cowboys.

his city slicker rivals for the Republican presidential nomination. In his private life, Mr Buchanan is a Chardonnay-sipping cat lover with a profound distaste for hunting and a preference for hearing his Mass in Latin. Out here in Apache country, with the Arizona primary beginning to look like another surprise victory tomorrow, the Jesuit-educated wordsmith, born and raised in Washington DC, is acting like John Wayne.

"They got the nerve to call me an extremist. But those federal bureaucrats are the outlaws. That out-of-control Bill Clinton federal government is the extremist round here," Mr Buchanan told the cheering crowds at campaign stops all around Arizona.

'And the moment I lift my hand to swear my oath of office as president, that New World Order will come crashing down'



Bible Belt he stressed religion and abortion. The man who won last week's New Hampshire primary by talking about jobs and trade policies and wearing a dark suit has become the gun-loving libertarian patriot who will defend American freedoms against the cosmopolitan bastards of the Gatt tells us what we have got to do in foreign trade.

me tell you, my friends, this New World Order means the steady, slow surrender of the sovereignty and freedom for which our Founding Fathers fought and died, to the institutions of an embryonic world government.

headed by Russian troops. But Mr Buchanan has warned at every campaign stop in Arizona of the menace of the New World Order — "They will not rest till our freedoms are stubbed out."

Bombs could push Israelis to opposition

Derek Brown in Jerusalem

THE slaughter by suicide bombers in Jerusalem and in Ashkelon yesterday has cast a huge shadow over Israel's forthcoming general election.

main political camps know the bombers have entered the fray, and that voters will again be asking whether the price of peace is too high.

'I know deep in my heart that on the way to win peace, we shall have to pay a heavy toll for it.'

sation. If he cracks down too hard, however, he risks being accused of collaborating with Israel against militants regarded by many Palestinians as heroes.



Torn apart... An Israeli woman sobs near the wreckage of a bus bombed in Jerusalem yesterday. PHOTOGRAPH BY BRIAN HENSLER

Oil set to grease palm of Equatorial Guinea's dictator

'This president has kept all the money from cocoa and now he'll do the same with the oil and the country will continue in misery.' Chris McGreal reports from Malabo

THE mayor of Malabo was at his French lesson 10 days ago when President Teodoro Obiang Nguema's brother burst in, pointed to an unintelligible string of letters on the blackboard and read them as subversion.

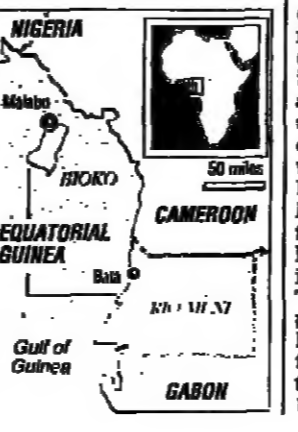
position, ought to be more careful about his moral conduct," he said.

turning an evil eye on the tiny African country. The government is trying to expel the chief UN representative for allegedly plotting with the opposition.

water. Life expectancy is just 46 years.

same with the oil and the country will continue in poverty and misery," Mr Bolekia said.

putsch, put his uncle on trial and shot him. Mr Obiang calls it the "liberty coup", but many would disagree.



News in brief

Clinton goes to UN as Cuba downs planes

THE United States called for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council yesterday after Cuban fighters shot down two small American civilian planes flown by Cuban exiles.

The Clinton administration has taken limited steps in relaxing the US embargo against Cuba in the past month, but Saturday's incident is likely to prompt it to halt its cautious opening.

Several Cuban exile groups advocate direct action. Late last month US customs officials intercepted a fishing boat carrying arms and five anti-Castro protesters belonging to a paramilitary group called the United Liberation Commandos.

Russian troops pull back

OFFICIALS in Ingusheta said yesterday that they had reached agreement with the Russian army on its withdrawal of troops from their tiny republic, which borders breakaway Chechnya.

The Ingush president, Ruslan Aushiev — a former Soviet general — said the fighting there began when Chechen rebels hiding near Arshiy ambushed a Russian force trying to reach Bamut, a rebel Chechen stronghold which has been under Russian attack for months.

Opposition leaders held

AT LEAST 200 people were injured in clashes and gun battles yesterday in the Bangladesh capital Dhaka and other towns after the government detained four opposition leaders.

Colombian pipeline bombed

SUSPECTED members of the rebel National Liberation Army (ELN) have blown up Colombia's second-biggest oil pipeline, causing a large spill, in the north-western province of Antioquia, a local radio network reported at the weekend.

Grace goes to the altar

THE flamboyant model and singer Grace Jones married a 21-year-old Turk, her former bodyguard Atilla Altunbay, in Rio de Janeiro on Saturday after taking part in the city's carnival, local newspapers reported.

Tinnitus Problems?

If you suffer from Tinnitus and experience symptoms such as ringing in the ears or buzzing, hissing, whistling or other sounds, you should know about a new book: *The Complete Guide to Tinnitus*.

Islamists

The president, however, is unrepentant. "I wasn't in town that day so I don't know what it's all about. But the mayor, in his important po-

A vote for principle

Scott must not be shelved

CONSERVATIVES always say that they believe both in the sovereignty of parliament and in the responsibility of the individual. Yet each of these ancient principles is on the line in the Scott debate today. The report is damning about the way that both were systematically abused during the arms to Iraq affair. But the Government's conclusion is that Scott's findings do not matter sufficiently to justify even a substantive vote of the House of Commons, let alone a vote against the Conservative whip. This is an outrageous position to adopt. No one who has read the Scott report, and particularly sections D4, dealing with the Government's public statements about arms export policy, and G13, concerning the preparation of public interest immunity certificates, can honestly accept it. The Government's treatment of Parliament over Scott amounts to a political cover-up. That is why no true Conservative should support the Government when the vote is taken at 10 o'clock this evening.

The fundamental issue in the Scott Report is that the public and Parliament were misled about government policy on exports to Iraq during the 1980s. As a direct result of this policy, three men very nearly went to prison in the Matrix Churchill case. On the adjacent page, Geoffrey Robertson QC explains how this concealment, as perpetrated by the Attorney General Sir Nicholas Lyell, threatened both the cause of justice in these individual cases and undermines the more general integrity of the nation's chief law officer. Yet the concealment as applied to Parliament was even more sustained and strikes at the foundations of accountable parliamentary government.

Scott says that "the answers to parliamentary questions in both Houses of Parliament failed to inform Parliament of the state of Government policy". This failure followed "inevitably" from the decision of three ministers (of whom William Waldegrave is the only one still in office) not to publicise the change in export guidelines in 1989. The over-riding reason was "a fear of strong public opposition" and its effect on British trading interests. Mr Waldegrave is accused of making statements which were "untrue" on the basis of facts known directly to him. These are only a few of the critical comments about his conduct: others include "untrue", "not accurate", "jarring", "plainly inapposite", "sophistry", and "bound to be misleading".

The result, concludes Scott, is that the Government's statements in 1989 and 1990 about export guidelines to Iraq "consistently failed" to comply with ministerial obligations to tell the truth to Parliament. These obligations, as set out in Questions of Procedure for Ministers, stress that "each minister" is responsible to Parliament for the conduct of his department and that a minister should give Parliament, including its select committees, and the public as full information as possible. Mr Waldegrave was therefore personally responsible for the untrue and misleading statements which he made to the House of Commons and was seriously in breach of his undertakings, whether or not he did so knowingly or duplicitously.

MPs today must decide whether Scott matters or not. The essence of the Government's position is that it does not. If the Government gets through this evening, then ministers seem to believe that will be an end to the matter. Scott and his findings, charges, and all his long work will be history. It makes you wonder what MPs actually think that they are in Parliament for. If ever a party says one thing and does another, it is the Conservatives. The issue is in the hands of their backbenchers tonight. If, unlike ministers, they accept their responsibilities when it matters then the nation will acclaim them for it.

The terror returns

But Peres has to persevere

THE SPECIAL HORROR of the terrorists' bomb is only heightened when it shatters a period of apparent peace. The Israeli people are reeling now from the same sense of double shock which hit Britain two weeks ago. Not only was the bomb on Jaffa Road devastating in its destruction of human life, but it came after a six-month lull in Hamas activity during which there were hopes that the Islamist movement might be shifting away from the use of terror. The questions now being asked in Jerusalem are similar to those that have been asked in Britain. Was this return to violence in any degree provoked by mistaken decisions taken by the government? How will it affect the peace process? Does it indicate divisions within the terrorist movement's own ranks... and will there be more bombs?

On the face of it the Hamas bombing merely delivered the "response" which had been threatened after the Israeli assassination of the movement's "engineer" Yahya Ayyash on January 5. The Israeli action was regrettably short-sighted, satisfying an all too familiar instinct for revenge without regard for its longer strategic effect. Yet there were still grounds for believing that the tacit Hamas truce would hold. The Cairo talks had only just failed to produce agreement on Hamas participation in the first-ever Palestinian elections. Earlier this month a Hamas spokesperson, while reiterating that the Jihad continued, said that it might be "suspended". He also stressed that Hamas operated over a wide range of non-military activities and was "not obsessed with the concept of war".

If Hamas — or a more militant element within it — has now resumed operations, the motive is unlikely to have been just tit-for-tat revenge. Here the British parallel is reversed. It would not be because the peace process is lagging behind that the bombs have been planted but because it is going so fast. Whatever the flaws in the Palestinian elections, they have to a large extent validated the PLO hegemony. Shimon Peres, fortified by his personal polls since the assassination of Yitzhak Rabin, has advanced the election date to May, seeking a new mandate for peace. The "final status" talks with the PLO are due to start in the same month. Only last week one respected Israeli commentator reported that a draft blueprint for these talks would allow for the creation of a Palestinian state.

Mr Peres said yesterday that he must carry on: there was the risk of terror whether or not he continued the search for peace. His task, racing against the electoral clock, is to convince the Israeli public not to be driven by anger or fear into the rejectionist camp. It will not be easy but he, and Israel, has no choice.

"The nauseating tale of Scott-ish power and cynicism junkies... Too-curling"



Truthspotting

From the diggers of Deep Holes
DUE TO ARRIVE HOUSE OF COMMONS 26:02:96

Letters to the Editor

Why Sir Nicholas Lyell is wrong

ON JULY 19, 1994 I gave evidence to the Scott inquiry that refuted the argument that the Attorney General, Sir Nicholas Lyell, was justified in the line he took regarding public interest immunity (PII). I included material to the same effect in the second supplement to my text-book, *Statutory Interpretation*, (2nd edn).

In his own evidence, Sir Nicholas said, citing *Conway v Rimmer* (1968), that where documents fall into a class that has been recognised by the courts as attracting PII, the relevant minister is under a duty to refuse disclosure of the document. In fact, this was not decided in that case, and such an idea was never hinted at in the five judgments of a highly distinguished court.

Sir Nicholas's view turns the principle of PII inside out. Until *Conway v Rimmer* the courts played little part in it. If the minister certified that disclosing the document would damage the public interest, the courts accepted his certificate without question. Then the House of Lords reversed the position and held that, if the minister's certificate were challenged, the court should decide where the balance of public interest lay.

Lord Reid said, in words tailored to fit the *Matrix Churchill* case: "I do not doubt that there are certain classes of documents which ought not to be disclosed... whatever their content may be. Virtually everyone agrees that cabinet minutes and the like ought not to be disclosed... the most important reason is that such disclosure would create, or fan, ill-informed or capricious public or political criticism... No government could contemplate with equanimity the inner workings of the government machine being exposed to the gaze of those ready to criticise without adequate knowledge of the background and perhaps with some axe to grind. That must... also apply to all documents concerned with policy-making within departments, including, it may be, minutes and the like by quite junior officials and correspondence with outside bodies".

However, this and similar statements, do not mean that a minister is under a legal duty to claim PII in every such case: they are directed to the function of the court in passing judgment on such claims. It is for the minister to judge initially whether the public interest requires a claim to be made by him or her. The question of making a claim, as opposed to adjudicating on such a claim, is a matter of policy, not law.

In his evidence, Sir Nicholas said "PII cannot be waived." This may point to another source of the confusion. In *Hefir v Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis* (1982) the Court of Appeal ruled that PII already successfully claimed by the commissioner could not, when it suited him, later be waived as respects one document only. This was because the court had accepted for all the documents that, on balance, the public interest was against disclosure.

In *R v Her Majesty's Revenue and Customs, ex p Barnett* (1994), the court cited *dictum* Bingham LJ in *Makanjuola v Commander of Police of the Metropolis* (1982) that "public interest immunity cannot in any ordinary sense be waived, since, although one can waive rights, one cannot waive duties." However, this was in the context of a party to litigation not being able to waive what was not his right, but a duty imposed on him. In so far as PII is a right enjoyed by the executive, there is no reason why the executive cannot waive it, and in principle it should obviously be able to.

Sir Nicholas's statement that it would be wrong for a minister to refrain from claiming PII unless so advised by the prosecution counsel is furthermore contrary to the principle established in the 1927 *Campbell* case, which brought down the first Labour government. This was that ministers must be kept out of the prosecution process.

Sir Nicholas does not seem to understand that he has two hats here. As head of the Crown Prosecution Service, with supervisory responsibilities even extending to cases such as *Matrix Churchill*, he must be aloof from the Government. As legal adviser to the Government, he may advise ministers on whether to claim Crown privilege: the other hat.

Francis Bennison, Parliamentary Counsel (1973-75), 54a Nicodemus Mylona Street, Limassol 9055, Cyprus.

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Francis Bennison, Parliamentary Counsel (1973-75), 54a Nicodemus Mylona Street, Limassol 9055, Cyprus.

Heroic messages from those silent, suffering, angry men

THANKS to Ros Coward (Search for the hero inside of us, February 18) for helping me to reach intellectual and emotional critical mass. After years of trying to consider feminist arguments in a balanced way, I now realise that there is a strand of it I can comfortably ignore altogether. I never did manage to purge myself of all suspicion that behind some forms of feminism lay the most self-justifying, small-minded and spiteful of motivations.

Women, I now realise, are actually much stronger than men. What's more, it seems that what evidence there is suggests that women are happier as well — more optimistic as schoolgirls, less suicidal as grown men. Lordy, one would be forgiven for thinking that women actually get more from life than men.

Ros Coward has pushed it just that bit too far. If women are so strong, why are they still victims? Or is the truth, as I suspect, that some of them — like Ros Coward — are only pretending to be victims so that they can in turn continue to couch their power-games in terms of a "struggle for equality"?

Coward attacks "masculine heroism" as a redundant ideal. Irony, really. I have the oddest feeling that one form of such "heroism", the ability to "grin and bear it", is precisely what makes some men continue to believe they should listen to such ill-disguised sniping without complaint.

Peter James, Bristol BS6 6NR.

ROS COWARD need look no further than the Newbury by-pass camps I visited last weekend. There, now liable to be brought crashing by the gales, stood the last relic amid a maelstrom of smashed trucks and branches. Forty or 50 feet up, where, as their tents and vans were trashed below, individuals would make their last stand against the mercenaries.

All good BOP stuff. Yet, I found no conscious "risk-taking" strength-based (and mostly male) heroism. Even anger was muted. There was quiet determination to go through with it notwithstanding the inevitability of fines and maybe prison. There were acuity and pragmatism, prepared to play the system to its limits. As for stoicism, could you last such a winter in the corner of a field — let alone up a tree?

Out of the seemingly marginalised, a potent new amalgam of the "old" and "new" heroics is emerging.

Chris Copecock, 37 Kewton Crescent, Milton Keynes MK8 2LD.

Who cares?

AS A victim in a case where a mentally-ill young man, prematurely released from hospital, attacked and killed a number of people, I was shocked by the letter from Judi Clements, of Mind (February 22). How can she question if there is any "danger" in the community and then say that the "danger" is really that "too much emphasis will be placed on residential care for a few people"?



It's the Sun wot forgot it

READING your article (Plain writing, style may be early sign of Alzheimer's, February 22) I was left wondering if the cart hadn't gone before the horse. After all, were Alzheimer's the result of writing short and simple sentences rather than its cause, the implications for the mental health of tabloid journalists and advertising copywriters would be severe.

paired. Once this relationship becomes known, we might witness an efflorescence of intellectual complexity in the tabloid press, or even a reaction to the anti-intellectual bias supposedly prevalent in English culture.

Or perhaps we should all start writing in German. Edmund Hewson, 14 Loredale Road, London N17 6EY.

Seas of trouble

MANY years ago I was a navigating officer on ships bringing oil into the UK. The challenge was always the tide and tidal movements: that is why we have local pilots who bring local changes to the attention of every arriving ship. No ship would leave if there is sufficient water under the keel.

OH DEAR I fear that Dr Julian Lewis (Letters, February 24) may be suffering from a severe memory disorder. Not only does he dispute the details of our conversation, he also seems to have forgotten that it was he who asked me to write to your paper to correct any inaccuracies regarding our dealings with each other.

A Country Diary

STRUMPESHAW, NORFOLK: At this time of year, one of the most elusive of Norfolk's five deer species, since the late 1950s they have built up a strong county population, with as many as 12 being seen at a single site. Their breeding success is enhanced by the doe's capacity for multiple births and, although twins are uncommon amongst Britain's other deer, she commonly has triplets, sometimes even seven offspring. Conventionally, environmentalists disapprove of introduced species because of the threat they may pose to indigenous flora and fauna. But the Chinese Water Deer could yet present them with a nice conundrum, for if, as is suggested, the deer continues to decline in its native China, we might be forced to embrace the British population as a precious addition to the world total.

MARK COCKER

How I stopped feeling sorry for Asylum Ann

Endpiece

Roy Hattersley

LAST Thursday night, hanging about the House of Commons for reasons which I no longer recall, it was my misfortune to hear Ann Widdecombe pronounce her valediction on the Asylum and Immigration Bill. I have recently been in mortal danger of feeling sorry for Ms Widdecombe. For she is treated by her Tory colleagues with a condescension which would humiliate a more sensitive woman.

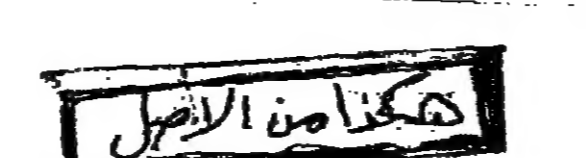
Compassion, combined with contempt for the new breed of young Tories, was beginning to make me champion her cause. Then I heard her declaim one of the most deplorable clichés in the Big Book Of Parliamentary Platitudes. A work of many volumes.

years, been four immigration bills by one name or another. Each one has been more oppressive than the one which preceded it. All of them have been described by the sponsoring minister as firm and fair.

entry policies than ours. Some of my Muslim constituents — British by birth or registration — have crossed the Channel (as was their community right) to live in countries which, unlike Great Britain, allowed their wives to join them from Pakistan or Kashmir.

that we "cannot afford to let them in". And, if we cannot afford to let them in, those of them who are here already must — like their relatives, who Margaret Thatcher thought wanted "to swamp our civilisation — be doing us harm. That is the message of increasingly stringent immigration regulations.

Yet Ms Widdecombe, if we are to believe in her sincerity, does not understand the effect of what she is saying. Though I do her intelligence justice, I have to admit that — when she got carried away by her own eloquence — she did slip in a comment about the Labour Party damaging itself by constant opposition to the tightening of immigration control. On that point, she may well be right — though the harm of which she speaks is electoral. The moral self-confidence of the Opposition has been immensely improved by the stand it has taken. And at least the conclusion of last Thursday's debate had benefits for me. It stopped me feeling sorry for Ann Widdecombe.



Paris Diary

Paul Webster

MOST of Paris's better known meeting places could provide a real life drama for a film script. The other day I was at Chez Edgar off the Champs Elysées, one of those restaurants where Le Tout Paris roams between the main dining room and the private saloons.

It was here that the last socialist prime minister, Pierre Bérégovoy, celebrated his 40th wedding anniversary. Tempted by shady financiers, he took up a small interest-free, but not overhelmed by guilt and the decadence of leftwing morals, Bérégovoy, the only working-class member of the socialist elite, shot himself a few months later by a canal towpath.

There used to be a tradition in French cinema in which real life political events were turned into thinly-disguised fiction to overcome censorship, but this has gone out of fashion since Le Bon Plaisir, 13 years ago, inspired by the scandal of François Mitterrand's illegitimate daughter.

With Bérégovoy in mind, Chez Edgar would have been an appropriate venue to discuss changing cinematic trends. I was invited by Marc Tessier, head of Centre National de la Cinématographie (CNC), the officially subsidised body that protects and finances television and film production.

As often happens when culture is discussed, conversation was sidetracked by the suspicion that I was an agent of Anglo-Saxon cultural imperialism. What was intended to be a dialogue on Franco-British co-production turned into a metaphorical towpath and took its own life in despair.

This year, foreign correspondents were mobilised to present the first Lumière awards, a Parisian version of the US Golden Globes. The best film was judged to be La Haine — about police and youth violence in poor suburbs, making the award as much an insight into the preoccupations of foreign reporters as a tribute to a low budget, black and white film.

A walk on the Wilde side of Pat Buchanan

Commentary

Mark Lawson

JUST IN case Pat Buchanan becomes President, I would like to lay down this anecdote for his biographers. In 1982, in the early stages of the New Hampshire primary, I was among the small group of journalists following him.

As Mr Buchanan, then thought a joke candidate, did not merit secret service protection — indeed, did not even have Secret Squirrel protection — it was easy to talk to him between speeches. We talked mainly about literature, for the candidate, though less surprised than other commentators by the apparent inconsistencies in the Buchanan platform which is currently exciting Republican primary voters: rightwing anti-corporate, and promising to lead a "march on Washington", a city where he has been resident for several decades and made a lucrative media living.

The general reaction on the left to the rise of Mr Buchanan employ only heterosexuals. I wondered if it was possible — Mr Buchanan's schooling had been Catholic and sheltered — that he simply didn't know. So one day, in the snows of the north country, I raised the problem: surely his beloved Oscar Wilde had himself been a celebrated homosexual. Indeed might qualify for the title Gore Vidal now claims for himself, of literature's "King Pig".

The presidential candidate gave his trademark guffaw and grasped my upper arm. "My friend," he said, "I think the statute of limitations is up on Oscar Wilde." From which we conclude that it is okay to be gay as long as you have been dead for about 80 years and that Pat Buchanan is a man of contradictions. (This great advocate of protectionist economics was also at the time the driver of a German car). Being aware of his complex position on the Irish republican issue, I was perhaps less surprised than other commentators by the apparent inconsistencies in the Buchanan platform which is currently exciting Republican primary voters: rightwing anti-corporate, and promising to lead a "march on Washington", a city where he has been resident for several decades and made a lucrative media living.

The general reaction on the left to the rise of Mr Buchanan

as a serious political figure has been alarm: at his isolationist, protectionist, homophobic, possibly racist views. But it seems to me that an equally proper response is — and the candidate often sounds like a man familiar with German words — *schadenfreude*. Can there ever before have been a week in which the political right in both Britain and America were simultaneously in such a mess?

The Conservative Party — as Peter Thurnham becomes the third sitting MP to walk out in six months — is humiliated by departures. The Republican Party — as Buchanan brings it the support of militia members and other backwoods wackos — is embarrassed by arrivals. Groups which seemed, in very recent memory, to have colonised our politics for ever, now contemplate ruin.

Some of the factors in this current chaos on the right are common to both sides of the Atlantic. In both cases, a somewhat unlikely and thus volatile legislative and electoral coalition — combining rich and poor, upper and lower-class, near-fascist and liberal conservative — was held together by a charismatic election-winner: Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan. In both cases, the hard-line rightwingers whom these leaders attracted to the party

have succeeded, after their departure and replacement by a dimmer spirit, in giving a single issue disproportionate influence on its direction. For the Conservatives, the disfiguring issue is Europe. For the Republicans, it is abortion. On the last point, the only recorded joke of President George Bush looks increasingly prescient. Although not usually a humorist, Bush is reported, after addressing a breakfast of Republicans in the early eighties, to have commented to his chief of staff, James Baker: "Hell, Jim, I was the only person in that room that had only been born once." These days, each potential Republican nominee requires partial if not total immersion in the beliefs of the born-again. One of the problems of General Colin Powell, still the dream candidate of moderates in the Republican Party, was always going to be his freedom-of-choice stance on abortion.

IN THEIR different ways, Peter Thurnham and Pat Buchanan are examples of what happens when a political party becomes — or is forced to become by doctrinal hijacking — cavalier about its flanks.

A Conservative hierarchy which chose to respond to the Scott report through cynically selective quotation and an impenetrable attempt to hold on to criticised ministers, clearly had little sense of the current attitude among the electorate to politicians. Much the same can be said of a Republican hierarchy which tried to fix the nomination for its veteran servant, Bob Dole, even to the extent of creating qualifying rules for the New York primary so convoluted as virtually to prevent competition.

They failed. Indeed, Pat Buchanan's success has demonstrated that, though the American electorate may be as

stupid and gullible as Europeans like to think, it is at least so in a way different from the general prejudice. It has long been a creed of political commentary that campaign success depends on bank balance. Yet Buchanan, with a war chest of relative peanuts, easily out-scored Steve Forbes, who spent tens of millions of dollars of his own money. You can't buy power, though you can demagogue it.

It's slightly odd, though, that there has been so much comment about the strange coalition of policies and voters coalescing around Buchanan. For, in the nineties, the platform of opposition candidates has generally been secondary to their political appeal. This is a period of lightning-rod politics, in which storms of electoral resentment are drawn to individuals or parties, often for short periods of time. At different times, Ross Perot, Bill Clinton, Newt Gingrich and Pat Buchanan have been the beneficiaries of such distress.

The closest you can get to doing a Buchanan under the British system is, say, to change your name by deed poll to "Sir Nicholas Lyell" and run against him in his constituency, but lightning-rod politics can still operate. After Scott and other horrors, Tony Blair is likely to receive the votes of people who don't agree with all or even very much of what he represents, but who wish to rebel against their old allegiance. The chaos on the right is not yet to be confused with a resurgence of the left, but there is a certain cathartic pleasure in watching them suffer.

Incidentally, I recommend to Mr Buchanan for a future speech the following quip of Oscar's, which seems to fit Bob Dole: "He has fought a good fight and has had to face every difficulty except popularity."

misleading the Court over Heseltine's position must be borne by the Attorney-General. It had come about by oversight rather than design, but was just one consequence of the Attorney's failure to do his duty. Another was his failure to take seriously Heseltine's concern about injustice or to recognise the grave constitutional implications of "suppressing documents helpful to defendants" — at a trial in which, unprecedentedly, two former ministers would appear as witnesses for the prosecution.

This is, after all, the Attorney-General's most important constitutional role: to guard the public interest by acting so as to prevent apprehended miscarriages of justice. It would be better done, as in many countries, by an Attorney recruited from the judiciary or the senior Bar, rather than by a party politician. The only point, in fact, of having a "QC MP" as an Attorney is that he can be held directly responsible in Parliament.

In 1933, the first Labour Attorney-General, Patrick Hastings, made a thoroughness of proceedings — first brought, then dropped — against the Workers Weekly.

His fault, too, was failure to do his duty attentively. F E Smith (Lord Birkenhead) accused Hastings of "a disagreeable and unedifying performance" by which he had been guilty of departing from the high reputation of the office of Attorney-General. As a result, the government fell.

The opposition lacks an F E Smith to tell this Attorney-General it is time to go, because he failed to tend the light, and men were in peril in the darkness. They survived, of course, but only after a six-week ordeal they should not have suffered. If he fails now to accept the responsibility Scott imputes to him, he will do more damage to the office of Attorney-General by failing to resign than he did, in September 1992, by failing to act.

Goofy Robertson QC defended Paul Henderson at the Matrix Churchill trial. He is the author of Freedom, The Individual And The Law.

The Attorney General failed in his primary role. Knowing that justice would not be served over Matrix Churchill, Sir Nicholas Lyell still did nothing. For this alone, argues Geoffrey Robertson, he must go

The day the light went out

THE OFFICE of Attorney-General is, as Sir Nicholas Lyell reminded us on the eve of his evidence to the Scott inquiry, a lighthouse in a thunder storm. The case for his resignation as lighthouse keeper is not that he is lacking in decency or integrity, or that he misunderstood PIL law. It is that, as the Matrix Churchill storm clouds gathered over several weeks in September 1992, he failed to tend the beacon.

The facts which Scott carefully establishes as the basis for finding him "personally at fault" begin on 4 September, one month before the trial was to commence, when the Attorney was told that Michael Heseltine "is unhappy about the prosecution and does not want to be party to the suppression of documents which are helpful to the defendants." This was unprecedented. The Cabinet Minister responsible for the department whose rules the defendants had allegedly broken was convinced that they would not be tried fairly if he certified that it was not in the public interest for the documents to be released. As the memo to the Attorney wryly noted, "the problem is that he thinks it is in the public interest for the documents in this case to be disclosed." This memo concluded, ominously, "The prosecution may yet come to a sticky end."



and with any consideration affecting public policy." He must decide, "applying his judicial mind," whether to direct the prosecution to continue.

This duty — enunciated by Sir John Simon in 1935 and Sir Hartley Shawcross in 1951 — should be engraved on every Attorney's heart. Yet Sir Nicholas never attempted to fulfil it. He did not acquaint himself with the facts, or even bother to read the documents. He did not look at the prosecution evidence. He did not consult with Mr Heseltine, or (and Scott finds this "astounding") answer his anxious letter. He did not seek advice from other lawyers.

At his one meeting with the prosecution counsel on 10 September he did not mention that the President of the Board of Trade actually wanted the documents to be disclosed. This failure resulted in the Court being told, incorrectly, that Heseltine's attitude to disclosure was no different from that of Rifkind, Clark and Garel-Jones, who all argued strenuously against it. Sir Nicholas did not acquaint himself with the most extraordinary fact of the case, namely that the main defendant, Paul Henderson, had risked his life as an MI6 agent and hence that one consequence of prosecuting him would be to damage MI6 recruitment. In short, he never applied his mind, judicial or otherwise, to the facts of the case or to the public interest considerations at stake; he abdicated his office. Scott concludes that the "major responsibility" for

mislead Parliament or the public. (This time the "not" — again followed by a break in the main clause and by a sweep to a personal, and rather syntactically unexpected interjection, "in my mind" — is only the overture to another "not" towards the end of the sentence.) "Designedly" is another favourite. "As a consequence of this decision, answers given by ministers to parliamentary questions are designedly uninformative. Parliament was designedly led to believe (etc.)." "Designedly" should imply intention, but somehow it seems to muddy the sentence. The truth-words stand out from the argument: "misleading", "untrue", "uncon-

Unlucky 13 left holding the threads



Paul Foot

WATCH out for the following Tory MPs lists are published for tonight's Scott report debate: Dame Elaine Keiller-Bowman (Lancaster), Tom Sackville Bolton West, Michael Spiller (South Worcestershire), David Howell (Guildford), Sir Timothy Sainsbury (Hove), Sir Michael Grylls (North West Surrey), Philip Oppenheim (Amber Valley), David Curry (Skipton and Ripon), Mark Lennox-Boyd (Morecambe and Lonsdale), John Marshall (Hendon South), John Patten (Oxford West and Abingdon) Michael Forsyth (Straling) and David Nicholson (Taunton).

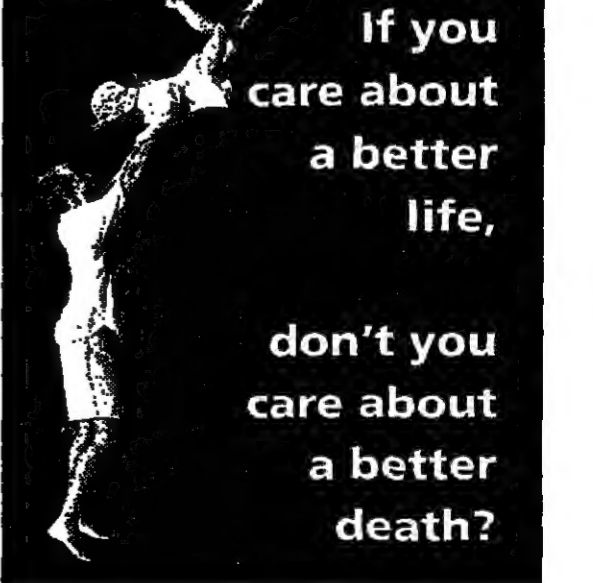
They are the unlucky 13 named in the Scott report as victims of "designedly misleading" answers from ministers. ("Designedly misleading" is the new jargon for Lord Armstrong's more subtle "economical with the truth") and Alan Clark's more elegant "economical with the actualities". In 1988 and 1989 the 13 were approached by constituents who were outraged by the brutal dictatorship in Iraq. They wanted to know if Britain was still selling arms to the mass-murderer of the Kurds. The MPs passed the queries on to ministers and the ministers' answers were, in the sober opinion of the third most senior judge in the country, false. The answers pretended either that British defence sales policy to Iraq and Iraq was "even-handed", or that the guidelines governing defence sales to Iraq had remained unchanged since 1985; or (in a letter to David Nicholson from William Waldegrave) that "strict guidelines were introduced in 1985 to prevent the export of military equipment to Iraq and Iran while the Gulf war was taking place". This statement, says Scott, "could not truthfully have been made". It was rubbish. As Waldegrave well knew, British firms sold hundreds of millions of pounds worth of military equipment to both countries during the Iran-Iraq war.

When people contact their MPs, they expect accurate replies. If the replies they get are false, the slender democratic thread which connects electors to elected is snapped. By far the most important theme in the Scott report is the weakness of Parliamentary democracy. Louis MacNeice asserted without much confidence more than 50 years ago that "this crude and

so-called obsolete top-heavy tedious parliamentary system is our only ready weapon to defeat the legions' eagles and the lictors' axes". Never mind the legions' eagles and the lictors' axes. Is our top-heavy tedious parliamentary system strong enough even to control the unlovet corporate pigs, as Noel Gallagher so accurately describes the people who run industry, especially the arms industry?

Increasingly powerful unelected corporations pursue their own selfish agendas while drooling to us in a language which pretends the opposite. "Public interest immunity" means something of interest from which the public must in all circumstances be kept immune. The value of the Scott report is its sustained proof that parliament is constantly by-passed and subverted. A glorious example is the scandal of the Superfund. In 1992, the Commons Trade and Industry Select Committee produced a long and unconvincing report. Three years later, Sir Richard goes over the same ground and produces a completely different account. This is not because the members of the TISC were dim, or Sir Richard clever. It is because the MPs on the Select Committee were denied the information they needed. Crucial intelligence reports were "not available" to them. When they applied to hear Sir Richard's answers, they were told the answers to vital questions, they were told the two men had retired and that their appearance would therefore be "not appropriate". Armed, at last, with the evidence from witnesses and intelligence documents, Sir Richard can finally tell us the true story, and its awful consequences for the absurdly-called intelligence services.

ANOTHER example is the revelation in the House of Commons and Civil Service fundering in a sea of secrecy and deceit. In such circumstances, the instinctive reaction to an awkward question is designedly to mislead. The lie comes more naturally than the truth. If you want to assess how much our current bunch of Tory MPs care about all this, study carefully those division lists tomorrow — and the votes of the unlucky 13.



If you care about a better life, don't you care about a better death?

79% of people in this country believe that it should be legal for those incurably ill and in severe distress to be allowed to request a peaceful, dignified end to their suffering. Our law does not agree: so the agony continues.

If you support voluntary euthanasia, the best way to achieve a change in the law is to join the Voluntary Euthanasia Society. Do it today.

Join the Voluntary Euthanasia Society and you will receive a free Advance Directive, which enables you to specify your wish not to be subjected to unwanted medical intervention if incurably ill. Please make me a member of VES and keep me informed about the campaign. I enclose £10 annual subscription (joint membership £15).

John Simpson on the fudging of language in Scott

Clear as mud

SIR Richard Scott has complained, perhaps naively, that his considered report has been subject to bowdlerization and turned into soundbites. English is a flexible language, but many people would not know where to turn when confronted with a sentence such as this: "I accept that Mr Waldegrave and the other adherents of the 'interpretation' thesis did not, in putting forward the thesis, have any 'duplicitous intention' and, at the time, regarded the relaxed interpretation of implementation, of guideline 3 as being a justifiable use of the flexibility believed to be inherent in the guidelines."

and the sly negative, after which the flow of the main clause is immediately broken, throws the reader into temporary panic. "Duplicitous" is weaselly; it sounds stock-legal, but dates from the late-19th century in American law, adopting its modern "two-faced, double-dealing" connotations in the 1950s. Robin Cook must have been left reeling from his lesson in semantics.

Sir Richard is aware of the significance of grammatical description: "The qualification of 'mislead' by the addition of the adverb 'knowingly' does not, in my mind, make any material difference to the substance of the obligation resting on ministers not to

ILLUSTRATION, STEVE CAPLIN



Reviewing the troops

When Tony Blair wins the election, one of his first tasks should be to institute a new system in No 10. In the second extract from their book about New Labour, **Peter Mandelson** and **Roger Liddle** offer advice on the deployment of the three main forces of government: the Cabinet Office, the Treasury and the PM's staff

Blair's new Britain

WHEN voters are asked to elect a new government, they will be asked to elect a new Britain. Blair's new Britain will be a country where the state is not a burden but a partner. It will be a country where the state is not a burden but a partner. It will be a country where the state is not a burden but a partner.

The best possible idea of how to do it is to look to the past. Blair's job is to make this machinery work, so as to ensure that the government's programme is delivered. Above all, his task is to satisfy the electorate with the performance of his government, so that it will want to re-elect Labour to a second term and see Britain's renewal through.

To succeed in government, Blair needs to control the central government machine and drive it hard in the knowledge that if the government does not run the machine, the machine will run the government. He must sustain a vision of what the government is aiming for, so that when times get difficult and rough — as they assuredly will — confidence in the government's purpose and direction is maintained.

A beefed-up No 10 policy unit should play a key role in this process, producing crisp papers on key policy areas to articulate the prime minister's political agenda. Such a unit is needed, however, for a stronger political presence in No 10, providing political advice and contacts which neither the private office nor the Cabinet Office can, because they are not supposed to get involved in policy and cannot meet the prime minister's central need: to focus on and manage the government's political strategy and programme.

The political office at No 10, the policy unit and the press office, all have political roles to play, and in the case of the political and policy functions at least, there is a need for a strong figure to bind them and their work together and to act as the prime minister's principal political adviser. There is certainly an advantage in having a safe pair of political hands to field the media for the prime minister (a minister for the Today programme), although for such a figure to become a fixture might raise questions of authority and accountability (not to mention an enormous amount of political jealousy).

It is better for the prime minister to be helped by two different sorts of individual: a senior colleague who can help smooth over frictions and disagreements in the cabinet (a role that Willie Whitelaw fulfilled for Mrs Thatcher, acting as deputy premier, though not formally designated as such), and in addition, a lower-profile, non-ministerial political manager inside No 10 — a "straight" player who is trusted by all, especially by the official machine, whose job is to bring together the political and non-political sources of prime-ministerial advice and ensure that the prime minister's political strategy is kept on track. The effectiveness of both such individuals depends on their personal skills as much as on their status.

While the Cabinet Office holds the key to the Whitehall process, the Treasury holds the purse-strings. The first task in the run-up to government is to establish a more comprehensive and relevant set of objectives, so that the incoming Labour government can organise the Treasury to deliver them from the outset. The Treasury must understand the key economic objectives of the new administration, and an immediate priority will be to put this in place to work together with No 10 and the Cabinet Office to implement the prime minister's and the government's strategy.

With less need to balance right and left since the days of old Labour, ministers at all levels can be selected strictly on merit — producing a government of talents, rather than of interests, to ensure maximum performance. They will be helped to do their jobs if they remain in their departments for longer than the average ministerial spell on the merry-go-round. There is a case for putting publicly identifiable superministers in charge of key areas of the government's overall strategy while retaining responsibilities in their own departments. These individuals would chair the relevant cabinet committees and report directly to the prime minister on these issues. If it is impractical to have one departmental minister taking a lead position in relation to others, an alternative might be to use non-departmental ministers in this role — those such as the Lord President, the Lord Privy Seal, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster or a minister without portfolio. They can, of course, combine these roles with leadership of the Commons or the Lords and with chairing the relevant cabinet committees.

The prime mover

SHORTLY after Tony Blair moved into the opposition leader's suite at Westminster, a friend dropped in to see him. Blair's friend knew that he was not especially interested in creature comforts and how things look, but his room seemed particularly austere. "Don't you want to make this a bit more lived in?" his visitor murmured, looking round the room. "No thanks," Blair replied briskly. "My job is to get out of these offices as quickly as possible, not to make them my home."

For Blair there is no job in question really worth having, and he has never bothered to list his opposition posts in his Who's Who entry. He finds it bizarre that biographers should be written about him before he sets foot in No 10. He has "diddling", as he calls it, being powerless to change things and put his best into practice.

BLAIR does not carry any animus towards those who defected to the SDP. He felt a little sympathy with the old right in the party, with their reliance on local-machine politics and deal-making and fixing votes with the trade unions, as he did with the old left. He would then let the others follow up on the point he had made, which I thought was a grown-up thing to do.

CECIL Parkinson has been quoted as saying: "I think he's very shrewd. He had a big point he wanted to make each day and he clearly put a lot of effort into that, and that was clever." He would then let the others follow up on the point he had made, which I thought was a grown-up thing to do.

Party pieces and the past

NOT long ago, in a south London theatre, a host of politicians and Labour-supporting celebrities assembled at a Young Labour gala evening. Neil Kinnock, the host for the evening, received a rapturous reception from the two thousand young activists in the audience. The biggest applause of the night went to James Callaghan, a man who represented something few in the hall could remember — Labour in power.

The applause is deeply ironic. Parts of the Labour Party spent the early 1980s attacking the record of Callaghan's government, accusing it of having betrayed socialism. In the years after Margaret Thatcher's election victory in 1979, speakers at the Labour Party conference trying to defend the former government's actions were routinely booed.

By moving increasingly from a system of delegate democracy to direct democracy, structures must ensure that the party's mass grassroots membership, rather than unrepresentative groups of activists, has the greatest say in the agreement of policies and the election of its leaders.

A substantial start has been made in implementing these changes, and, as a result, the difference between the party that at its mildest was a thorn in Callaghan's side to the one that cheered him to the rafters 15 years later is enormous. Some have complained of feeling that the party is engaged in a "permanent revolution". But what is wrong with that? Shouldn't any organisation committed to changing society be constantly seeking ways to improve itself? The leadership's view is clear. Tony Blair told the GMB trade union conference last year: "People ask me when I will draw the line under reform. When can we say it is done with? The answer is never."



Interest-rate masochists kill investment prospects



Larry Elliott

HERE was a time when Britain was the investment capital of the world but you would have to be older than Madame Jeanne Calment, 121 last week, to remember it. The UK may have been first with the steam engine but since steel, chemicals and electricity powered the second industrial revolution in the late 19th century, Britain has lagged behind.

Ted Heath put the problem rather well back in 1973. At an industrial lunch organised by the Institute of Directors, he said: "The curse of British industry is that it has never anticipated demand. When we [the Heath Government of 1970] came in we were told there weren't sufficient inducements to invest, so we provided the inducements."

Then we were told people were scared of balance of payments difficulties leading to stop-go. So we floated the pound. Then we were told fears of inflation: we're dealing with that same old you aren't investing enough."

Against this background, Friday's news that manufacturing investment fell by 9 per cent in the final three months of 1995 should have come as no surprise.

British business, the record shows, needs little prompting to put investment plans on hold, preferring to wait until the economy is on the point of

overheating before taking the plunge. By which time, of course, it's too late and the deflation necessitated by demand exceeding supply makes the new plant redundant.

Even so, the Government — as in 1973 — has every reason to be grumpy about the lack of investment over the past three years. The economy has been growing, inflation is low, interest rates have been cut, corporate profitability is strong, and labour is weak and insecure. And yet since the economy emerged from the traumas of ERM membership, investment has merely stirred.

At this point ministers have every reason to throw up their hands and ask what else they are supposed to do.

One answer, provided by Patrick Minford, is that after Black Wednesday monetary policy was simply not loose enough, and continues to be far too tight. Professor Minford, one of the Government's panel of independent advisers, argues that rates should have come down much further in 1992-93 and should be reduced now by at least 1 percentage point.

Short-term rates fell from 12 per cent to 8 per cent by early 1993, accompanied by a 15 per cent devaluation in sterling. But Prof Minford believes base rates should have come crashing down to 2 or 3 per cent. That would have meant that real (inflation adjusted) rates were 10 per cent in 1992-93 and 12 per cent in the recovery.

Indeed, Prof Minford says that the Government's refusal to allow real rates to fall over the past three years has produced an economic stagnation — a series of mini-deflationary shocks that are preventing unemployment returning to its natural rate of one million. There are three reasons

why Prof Minford may be right. First, he has read the economy much better than most of his peers and was one of the few economists scornful of the idea that the Black Wednesday-induced devaluation would inevitably lead to a surge in inflation. He argues that although 3 per cent base rates would have led to dearer imports, the effect would have been transitory because of the enormous slack in the labour market.

Second, the Minford thesis is not merely hypothetical. After a far less severe recession in the United States than we had here, real rates were cut to zero and left there until the economy showed unmistakable signs of recovery. US investment rose by an average of 11 per cent a year from 1982 to 1989. Britain averaged just over 2 per cent.

Third, some senior officials see some merit in the Minford thesis. They look at the recent interest rate cycle — a trough of 5.25 per cent, a peak of 6.75 per cent, and a return to 5.25 per cent — and muse on why it has been so shallow. One explanation is that rates were kept too high after Black Wednesday.

REAL rates — measured by three-month interbank rate minus underlying inflation — came down only very modestly once the ERM strait-jacket was removed, falling from 4.8 per cent in 1991 to 3.5 per cent in 1993 and nudging up to 4 per cent. Those figures alone suggest policy was too tight. Yet, because the ship was rudderless and Captain Lamont was about to walk the plank, the chance was missed to rectify — rather than simply ameliorate — the protracted misjudgment that locked the pound against the mark at an overvalued exchange rate for two

years. To an extent this is understandable. Given the blow to credibility lost by the ERM debacle, there were fears that slashing interest rates would have sent the pound tumbling into a bottomless pit and re-ignited inflation.

Some support for this view comes from the Ernst & Young Iam Chih, which uses the Treasury model of the economy for its forecasting. Asked by the Guardian to project what would have happened had rates been cut to 3 per cent in early 1993, Iam found that growth would have been far stronger — a cumulative 2.5 percentage points on GDP in the three years 1993-95 — unemployment would have been 200,000 lower at a white-hot 11.5 per cent — and the PSBR would have been around £8 billion lower.

However, this would have been at the expense of a much lower exchange rate and far higher inflation. According to Iam, the Retail Prices Index excluding mortgages would be running at around 6 per cent, double its current level.

Ben's chief economist, Paul Droop, said that it was unlikely that inflation would have been allowed to rise so far without some policy tightening and while he believed there was potential for base rates of 3 per cent to trigger a run on sterling, he questioned whether a lower exchange rate would have had the sort of knock-on impact on wages implied by the Treasury model.

However, he also doubted whether slashing base rates would have had a marked impact on investment, since the markets would have responded to the inflationary threat posed by base rates by pushing up long-term bond rates — the protracted misjudgment that locked the pound against the mark at an overvalued exchange rate for two

Shattering the homework myth

Debate

Kim Hendry

ARTICLES about working at home usually resonate with optimism, portraying an escape from the straitjacket of modern office life and commuting hell, to freedom and self-employment.

This is the future in which global financial deals will be conducted via computer from rustic cottages and suburban semi.

The reality is far bleaker, particularly when we look at the oldest form of home-based work, manufacturing homework.

Notions of "independence" and "freedom" echo mockingly in the cramped, unsafe living rooms where women and their children toil regularly through the night to meet rush orders for meagre pay.

Homework is easily the most common type of home-based work, and is on the increase in many western economies, including Britain: in "sunrise" industries, such as electronics, plastics and car components, in teleworking as well as in declining manufacturing sectors.

A 1993 European Commission report stated that homeworking "is a question of major concern in a substantial number of member states" and in Britain the National Group on Homeworking reckons there are one million-plus homeworkers.

A myth surrounding homeworking is that it exists because of the needs of its female workforce, enabling them to combine paid work with their roles as carers.

In fact, homeworking can

large capital in creating and perpetuating the demand for homeworkers.

My interviews with 24 owners/managers of small cut-make-and-trim subcontractors revealed that while most homeworkers do work for small workshops or factories, these are usually located at the end of a long subcontracting chain.

C&A, River Island, Dorothy Perkins, Tesco and GUS were some of the famous names

found to be selling garments produced by homeworkers under heavily exploitative conditions.

Homeworking was a key element in the West Midlands clothing sector's emergence in the mid-1970s and its ability to survive competition from "cheap labour" countries like Morocco and India.

Casualised, isolated, with little or no bargaining power, homeworkers provide the industry with much-needed flexibility.

In the West Midlands, the advantages gained can be grouped under four headings.

Flexibility: The fashion industry's volatile and competi-

tive nature generates uncertainty. As a result, flexibility — broadly defined as the ease with which a workforce can be "hired" and "fired" — was identified by employers as the main advantage in using homeworkers.

Because the homeworker is paid only according to output, the owner is not obliged to fund an idle workforce during lulls in demand.

Reduced capital costs and overheads: Using home-

work enables employers to avoid many of the costs associated with production, including rent, storage, electricity, even purchase of sewing machines.

Lower labour costs and wages: In addition to all the savings listed above, the price of homeworkers' labour is much cheaper than a factory workforce. There is no holiday or sick pay, redundancy or overtime pay. The wage, usually piecework, also tends to be lower, because dispersed homeworkers exert little bargaining power and because of the low value attached to female labour.

Recruitment, training and quality control: Other

conventional management tasks are also passed on to the homeworker. Recruitment is usually via word of mouth and companies are able to exploit sewing skills learnt elsewhere. Because homeworkers are paid only for work judged acceptable by the firm, they are forced to supervise their own work.

Increasingly the risks and costs of production are being passed on down the subcontracting chain: from retailer to wholesaler to manufacturer to subcontractor to homeworker.

Clearly, homeworkers have the worst of all worlds. Economically dependent on the firm, they are denied the benefits of employment such as holiday and sick pay, and a regular wage.

Research projects that trace the links in the subcontracting chain are now being set up by the MINDA, therefore, the worldwide revolt against free trade, touched on last week, will be further examined today. And if that sounds like a baggy-pants get out — too bad.

They used to say a Communist is a man who stands in a town square at noon shouting: "It's midnight". The hours roll by and, sure enough, the time comes when our friend is right, however briefly.

By contrast, a main-

Tragic 11th hour trade-in of deeply held opposition

Worm's eye

Dan Atkinson

SAD TO say, it is time for MINDA. This is not an off-shoot of the Ministry of Agriculture. It is a device used by the sort of commentator that Hemingway used to call "good grey baggy-pants". Whenever our man is limbering up for a Mill Reef-style gallop on his favourite hobby horse, he prefaces his remarks with: "Making no apology for..." Usually, he is making no apology for returning to the pet topic he had droned on about the previous week.

With the MINDA, therefore, the worldwide revolt against free trade, touched on last week, will be further examined today. And if that sounds like a baggy-pants get out — too bad.

They used to say a Communist is a man who stands in a town square at noon shouting: "It's midnight". The hours roll by and, sure enough, the time comes when our friend is right, however briefly.

By contrast, a main-

stream anti-capitalist reformer would appear, on recent evidence, to be a man who performs the same feat with the important difference that at 11.15pm he loses his nerve and announces his full and irreversible conversion to the cause for midday.

In Germany, France, Spain and Britain, in Australia and New Zealand, the story of the last 18 years is of disintegration of opposition to the financial interest. Public figures thunder in unison that the "global economy" is a "given". The civil authorities' chief function is now to make their territory as attractive as possible for the moguls of "inward investment".

In this strange new world, the sole distinguishing feature of movements and organisations originally formed to combat the financial interest is their enthusiasm for ever-more-active measures to pummel the citizenry into shape for the permanent international slave auction.

How this came about is still not clear. It could be that the free movement of capital as an idea was sold to proponents of social democracy on the grounds

that it was "international" (worthy), "technological" (exciting) and resulted from "fundamental worldwide shifts" (irrefragable). So successful has this campaign been that when France suggested mild curbs on television programme imports it brought forth the sort of exhortation usually reserved for those proposing to revive the Nuremberg Decrees.

The immediate result of this collapse of resistance has been to jam the mechanism whereby society can make choices. Weighing the pros and cons of unfettered free trade is no longer a purposeful activity for a citizen of the West, because the opportunity to vote against free movement of capital and goods no longer exists.

Or rather, it no longer exists in the mainstream. Instead it is popping up in the midst of alarming new movements in France, Germany and the United States. Needless to say, the financial interest, and its front men didn't notice any of this and still don't take the threat seriously.

Too busy, one imagines, totting up their "performance related bonuses".

Wrong forecasts prove surprisingly helpful

Briefing

Richard Thomas

A LEADING City economist once gave a classic riposte to accusations that his forecasts were consistently wide of the mark. "I was wrong", he admitted. "But I was wrong for all the right reasons."

But there is something to be said for mistakes — you can learn from them. Some new research uses the way forecasters get their numbers wrong to predict the economic future.

Leo Doyle, an analyst at Kleinwort Benson, has constructed a "surprise index", based on the differences between what economists thought would happen and what actually did.

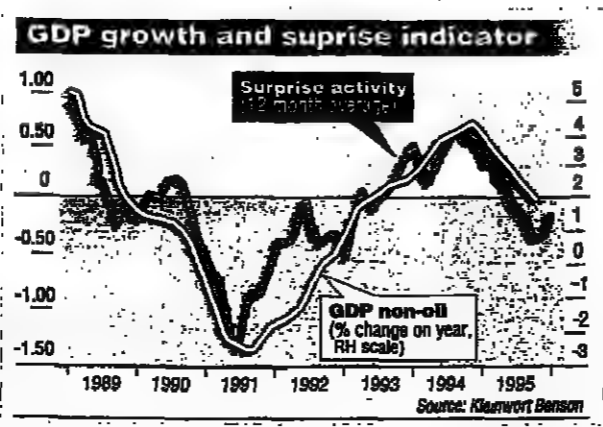
He has taken a wide range

of the most important economic series — gross domestic product, retail sales, industrial output, unemployment, narrow money (M4), broad money (M4), CBI industrial trends and distributive trades, car sales, consumer credit — and compared the median forecast by City economists with the actual outcome.

Each element was weighted using a rule-of-thumb measure of their significance. GDP accounts for 20 per cent of the total, industrial output and high street sales 12 per cent each, and the tiddlers, cars and credit, each make up 4 per cent.

He admits that many City economists lose little sleep over their monthly predictions — "many flick their fingers and say 0.3 per cent for everything" — but reckons they give a good feel of expectations.

Mr Doyle has charted the standard deviation of the median market view from the



real numbers. When the surprise indicator is above zero, the data turned out to be stronger than the pundits expected: in other words, were "surprisingly" good. And vice-versa when the index drops into minus figures.

The chart shows how the strong activity in 1994 caught analysts out, and the way in which weak recent numbers have surprised in the opposite direction — although analysts are catching on.

"Nearly all the main turning points have been missed by forecasters," Mr Doyle says.

"It seems reasonable to expect, therefore, that the early stages of each downturn or upturn will have been accompanied by a change in the monthly releases in the same direction. Today's surprise may be indicative of tomorrow's reality."

Economists may not notice a pattern, because they treat each release separately. But together they might amount to a missed turning point.

The graph appears to back the theory, with the surprise index running in close parallel to, and usually foreshadowing, the rate of growth in non-oil GDP.

What does it tell us about the immediate future? The surprises are currently on the downside, which hints at an impending downturn. The last time the index crossed from the top to the bottom half of the graph, there was a deep recession.

The very recent drift back towards the balance point could mean that the landing will be softer this time around, or that economists have become a more pessimistic bunch than in the late 1980s.

But there is a problem. If his index gained credence, economists might start using it to alter their forecasts. This would reduce surprises, and thereby kill the index.

So Mr Doyle's innovative index will only work if it remains secret. Oh dear.

Indicators

TODAY — GER Current account (Dec).
FR Inflation (Dec).
TOMORROW — US PPI (Jan).
US Retail sales (Jan).
US Consumer confidence (Feb).
JP Retail sales value (Jan).
WEDNESDAY — UK Gilt auction (2.5 8% 2021).
FR GDP (Jan).
US Inflation (Jan).

Tourist rates — bank sells

Australia 1.98 France 7.43 Italy 2.370 Singapore 2.13
Austria 15.15 Germany 2.176 Malta 0.54 S Africa 5.74
Belgium 44.50 Greece 367.00 Netherlands 2.45 Spain 182.00
Canada 2.06 H Kong 11.72 NZ Zealand 2.28 Sweden 10.26
Cyrus 0.70 India 58.43 Norway 9.53 Switzerland 1.78
Denmark 8.42 Ireland 0.9550 Portugal 227.00 Turkey 95.956
Finland 8.89 Israel 4.79 Saudi Arabia 5.74 US 1.5080

US Trade balance (Dec).
THURSDAY — GER Bundesbank Council meeting.
UK Non-EU trade balance (Jan).
US Net computer credit (Jan).
US Global trade (Dec).
FR Unemployment rate (Jan).
FR Unemployment rate (Jan).
JP BoJ Tankan (Mig D) (Feb).
JP BoJ Tankan (Mig D) (Feb).
Source: HSBC Markets Research
Supplied by NatWest Bank (including Index pages and interest sheets) at a close of business on Friday.

NOTICE TO
CLYDESDALE BANK PREFERRED RATE
ACCESS ACCOUNTHOLDERS

Clydesdale Bank PLC announces that the interest rate charged to its personal PREFERRED RATE ACCESS ACCOUNTHOLDERS will be reduced to 0.585% per month for both Advances and other transactions with effect from 4th March 1996.

From 4th March 1996 interest and charges are equivalent to an Annual Percentage Rate (APR) as stated in the examples below. The APR figure in brackets is the APR exclusive of the card fee.

CREDIT LIMIT	APR	CREDIT LIMIT	APR
£500	9.4% (7.2%)	£1,500	7.9% (7.2%)
£750	8.6% (7.2%)	£2,000	7.7% (7.2%)
£1,000	8.3% (7.2%)	£3,000	7.6% (7.2%)

Condition 5 (b), (c), (d) and (e) of the Conditions of Use will be amended accordingly with effect from 4th March 1996.

Clydesdale Bank

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Sunday best... Alberto Tomba on the superb second run which lifted him from sixth place to first in the Sierra Nevada world championship slalom. 'I was just going for a medal. To win two golds is beyond my wildest dreams,' said the Italian, Friday's giant slalom winner.

Athletics

Ladejo runs into form and trouble

Stephen Bierley

D'HAINE LADEJO passed off his belated triumph at the expense of the French in the men's 4x400 relay in Glasgow on Saturday as a little crowd-pleasing fun at the end of the international meeting, but British officials were not amused. For this is a serious sport. Give an athlete a millimetre of self-expression and the whole thing could deteriorate into entertainment. The reigning European outdoor and indoor 400m champion, largely educated in the United States, has never been short of confidence and his earlier victory in the individual 400 suggested he may retain his indoor title in Stockholm next month. 'There is so much more there - oo, so much more,' he said, his public face positively glowing with conviction in his own ability. Ladejo's career came to a juddering halt last season, when a trapped nerve cloaked his customary ebullience, and doubts linger that he would not have prevented Roger

Black from winning a unique third successive European 400m title in Helsinki in 1994 had Black been entirely fit. The British prefer their heroes unassumingly modest and the fact that Ladejo talks a good race runs people up the wrong way. Yet he is no braggart. He admits to being naive about his event when he returned to Britain to work with Tony Hadley and he believes he is more mature now than in 1994. The European indoor championships are simply a means to an end, that and being the Olympics. 'I'm really very excited about Atlanta. My whole goal is to go out there and win a medal.' The domestic 400m competition this summer will be fierce, with a possible eight runners seriously vying for three places, but this will be as nothing compared with tackling the Americans in their own backyard. Ladejo has yet to run a world-class race but insists he is capable of a dramatic push forward. 'Based on my current training I am far better than I have been before.' In Atlanta he will need to be as good as Sally Gunnell recorded her

first victory for 18 months and now returns to South Africa to continue her Olympic preparations. The heroine of the day was Vicky Lawrence, second in the 800m. Contacted at 9.30am, when Vicky Stern was taken ill overnight, she was driven from Blackpool and arrived less than 30 minutes before her event. Her reward may be a place in the European indoor team, which will be selected tomorrow and announced on Wednesday. Michael Johnson ran the fastest 400m indoors this year, 45.32, at the Mobil Invitational in Fairfax, Virginia. It put Ladejo's 46.39 in context and did little for Mark Everitt's confidence either: he was almost two seconds behind. At another invitation meeting in Los Angeles John Godina, world shot-put champion last year, won the event with 21.23 metres, the best in the world this year. He is attempting to become the first American to compete in both the shot and discus in the Olympics since 1924. His mark was well short of the world indoor record of 22.68 of Randy Barnes, who was second to Godina.

Racing

All systems go for Alderbrook

Chris Hawkins

ON A Saturday rich with pointers for the future, Alderbrook Draborgie, Rough Quest and Lo Stregone put up performances which had the bookmakers running for cover. Anyone not already on Alderbrook for the Smurfit Champion Hurdle at Cheltenham two weeks tomorrow will have to watch the race as a mere academic exercise or be prepared to bet odds-on. Evens with Ladbrokes is the best price available (Hill's go 8-1) after the reigning champion toyed with the opposition in Saturday's Levy Board Hurdle at Kempton. Kim Bailey reported Alderbrook, 'absolutely fine' yesterday morning and, with regular rider Norman Williamson expecting to return to the fray on Thursday, all is set for a repeat of last season's imperious victory. Not even a slight mistake at the second last, where he got in a bit too close, impeded Alderbrook's progress at Kemp-

ton as he beat Mack The Knife by three and a half lengths. Right Win was the disappointment of the race, Richard Hannan thought the ground was too soft for his six-year-old and would only consider running him in the Champion on better going. One definite Champion Hurdle absentee is Dato Star, who was yesterday ruled out for the rest of the season by trainer Malcolm Jefferson. Last year's top bumper horse crumpled on landing after pinging the fourth-last hurdle last Friday. Though seemingly none the worse immediately after the race, Dato Star has damaged his near-hind hock, an injury which will necessitate surgery. It will be five months before the can come back into training. Martin Pipe seems to have unearthed a star in the ex-French mare Draborgie who jumped well from the front when winning the Research into M.E. Chase by a distance at Kempton. Hill's shortened Draborgie from 7-2 to 5-2 favourite for the Arkle at Cheltenham and

it is hard to see her being beaten, except by the fences, or indeed anything being able to tie up with her. Rough Quest, who has to be nursed in his races, was given a wonderfully sympathetic ride by Richard Dunwoody to win the Racing Post Chase and enter calculations for the Tote Cheltenham Gold Cup. 'He's a stone better going left-handed, so to talk of the look around him and Adrian Maguire, who has his poor jump there down to lack of concentration. Zabadi showed plenty of resolution, although I

understand the stable may have a preferred Triumph hope in Love The Blues. At Haydock, Lo Stregone was a convincing winner of the Greenlands Grand National Trial and is now 10-1 favourite for the big one at Aintree. This horse stays all day and the four and a half miles at Aintree will not trouble him. All but Tartan Tyrant were a spent force with a mile to run here including Party Politics and Jodami, the latter apparently gurgling and finishing distressed. Earth Summit pulled up lame and is out for the season. Party Politics was well beaten but Nick Gaselew was not too dismayed, pointing out that the freeze-up had prevented him getting sufficient work into the old horse who, because he is tubed, cannot go swimming to keep fit. Sound Man, favourite for the Queen Mother Champion Chase, has recovered from a slight injury sustained when winning at Ascot. Trainer Edward O'Grady reported the horse had gone lame behind, but was sound again and will be galloped later this week.

Plumpton runners and riders

Table listing Plumpton runners and riders with columns for race number, runner name, and rider name.

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Southwell all-weather Flat card

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Newcastle with guide to the latest form

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Advertisement for 'Homeward bound' featuring a horse and rider, with contact information: 0800 550 550 and RAC logo.

Advertisement for 'Peace Of Mind' and 'Quick as a flash' featuring a horse and rider, with contact information: 1.40 Inghfield and 4.40 York.

Soccer

Coca-Cola Cup semi-final, second leg: Leeds United 3, Birmingham City 0 (Leeds win 5-1 on aggregate)

Wilkinson finds Wembley way

Ian Ross

TO THE strains of a club anthem penned in a different altogether more fulfilling era, the good folk of West Yorkshire yesterday rose as one to acclaim Leeds United's safe passage at lunchtime yesterday through to the League Cup final.

It was a moment to savour for the young and the young at heart, for the first time Leeds appeared at Wembley to contest one of the major cup competitions was in May 1973, back in the good old days when successful teams were built by a wily manager's business acumen, not a wealthy benefactor's loose change.

On that occasion Leeds famously lost 1-0 to Sunderland. On March 24 they may lose to Aston Villa but for the time being their supporters are just happy to relax in the knowledge that they will be there.

"I have waited a long time for this moment — 30 odd years," said Leeds manager Howard Wilkinson. "Getting through to a cup final has been a bit of a holy grail for me. It has also been a long time coming for the club. Twenty three years — some of them barren years — is a very long time for a club of this stature."

The first half, a microcosm of Leeds's season, produced a mirror image of last week's four goalless draw with Port Vale: much effort and endeavour submerged beneath a blanket of unfulfilled promise. It was grim stuff.

Leeds's initial hesitancy, which at times verged on timidity, was understandable because teams managed by Barry Fry do not tend to come on overmuch, particularly when they have under-achieved in the first of two legs.

The Yorkshire club's fans had anticipated an onslaught but it did not materialise. Although the first-half chances were most certainly there, Leeds they fall to Phil Masinga, who became, almost inevitably, the chief culprit as Wilkinson had preferred him to Broolin, the crowd favourite who was restricted to six minutes as a late substitute.

The South African missed three presentable opportunities but did at least get the satisfaction of poking in the opening goal on 54 minutes.



Jump shot... Steve Claridge tries his luck, which was definitely out at Elland Road yesterday; he missed a penalty too

PHOTOGRAPH: TOM JENKINS

when the 2-1 advantage that Leeds had accrued at St Andrews became a bridge too far for Birmingham.

Thereafter it was a stroll. If nothing else, Tony Yeboah's magnificent overhead kick three minutes after Masinga's close-range strike guaranteed that a strangely soulless afternoon would be remembered for more than just its outcome.

It was all over and yet, typically, Leeds still felt inclined to proffer the hand of friendship.

Kelly's clumsy challenge on Sheridan presented Birmingham with a penalty but Claridge, on possibly his last appearance before he moves to Leicester City, struck the foot of a post — his club's 14th miss from the spot in the last 23 attempts.

Brian Deane headed in a third from McAllister's cross with five minutes remaining, his sixth goal of the season.

but he was only adding to the script rather than twisting the plot.

Leeds: Graham Linton; Kelly, Bentley, Westwood, Dorrigo (Penrose, 17min), Wallace, McAllister, Palmer, Doolan, Yeboah, Masinga (60min, 54).

Birmingham: Johnson, Whyte (40min), Edwards, Richardson, Forsyth (60min, 4-2), Pratt, Clarke, Francis (60min, 23), Redmond, P. O'Shea (45min).

Premier Division

Aberdeen 0, Rangers 1

Gascoigne sees yellow and goal

Patrick Glenn

IN AN untidy but crucial match at Pittodrie, Paul Gascoigne showed once again that his tongue is as sharp as his feet by racking up his 13th caution of the season as well as the winning goal. England midfielder also managed to perpetrate the misdeed of the year on an afternoon when Rangers' long-recognised ability to pull plums out of the most unappetising pie helped restore their three-point lead over Celtic at the top of the Premier Division.

Apparently capable of being simultaneously tormented and inspired, Gascoigne demonstrated that he is also given to becoming knackered and was taken to the 45th minutes from the end, clearly in need of resuscitation.

The Aberdeen players could have done with a share of the oxygen, as Gascoigne had left them semi-comatose with his strident penalty. He had already been booked for a foul sent when Robertson played Laudrup down the left and the Dane cut inside Irvine towards the box.

Irvine's challenge from behind was especially judged, unlike the sweet little kick with the right foot with which Gascoigne rolled the conversion as far as possible to the right of Watt.

It was during Aberdeen's largely unobtrusive push for the equaliser in the second half that Rangers created enough opportunities to win the match handsomely. None, however, was more blatant than Gascoigne's.

Watt made a wonderful save at the feet of the marauding Laudrup, but the winger regained his balance and the ball and sent it into the path of Gascoigne, who looked at an empty goal from 10 yards out. Trying to walk the ball past the stranded Glass, he merely pushed it over the line for a goal-kick.

"If Aberdeen had equalised, the lads wouldn't have forgiven me for that," said Gascoigne. "I simply tried to be a little too clever." Between favouring his first child and, according to a Sunday tabloid, being shown the door by the mother, the bold enigma has suffered another colourful week.

Aberdeen: Watt, Grant, Irvine, Smith, McKinnon (30min, 22min), Bernard, Wilson, Glass, Miller, Brown, Goss, Bingham, Goran, Moore, Peric, McLennan, Brown, Robertson, Miller, Gascoigne (Van Veenen, 54), McGill, Ferguson (Cleveland, 90), Laudrup.

Rangers: H. Dallas (Motherwell).

Premiership: Blackburn Rovers 2, Liverpool 3

Evans thankful as Flowers is freaked out

Cynthia Bateman

THIS was probably a just result but it was not achieved by entirely just means, since the biggest players of the afternoon were Lady Luck, the groundsman and the referee, a trio who combined to produce some bizarre effects.

An early indication that this was going to be an interesting afternoon came in the 10th minute when Flowers got down to stop an innocuous 30-yard shot from Collymore only for the ball to hit a divot and bounce over his shoulder.

One almost expected chants of "sack the groundsman", and Liverpool's manager Roy Evans said: "It was a freak goal. Stan thought it was such a poor effort, he turned away. But we are thankful for small mercies."

Liverpool's second and third goals also left Flowers, who made some super saves in between times, bemused. In the 21st minute Collymore's 25-yard free-kick evaded the wall and sped between the stranded goalkeeper and the far post.

Thomas's strike 30 minutes from time was hit so hard that Flowers could not stop it looping over him into the net.

With the wide man Ripley and Wilcox playing together for the first time this season, Rovers were in better fettle than they had been for a long time. It was Shearer, dogged by markers, who nevertheless provided the ammunition to put them back in the game just before the half-hour. His short pass wide found Ripley and, from the cross, Wilcox scored with a superb glancing header which spun past the rooted James.

The goal sparked a good spell for Rovers, who abandoned their direct approach for some subtle passing which Liverpool found less easy to deal with, but they lost Ripley with a recurrence of his hamstring injury early in the second half.

When Liverpool then put together the best move of the match, Rovers went further behind. Fowler's incisive pass found Thomas, whose fierce low shot from just inside the area was only half blocked and found the net.

Liverpool stroled after that, but paid the price for complacency when they missed out instead of clearing. Shearwood put an end to the nonsense with a firm strike from close range with six minutes left to set up an exciting finish. Rovers were adamant they deserved a penalty when Barnes appeared to

handles just before the end, and Shearer was unable to score in a home league game for the first time this season.

The three points keeps us in touch," said Evans, claiming that the championship was only "in the back of my mind", with a place in Europe the priority. Liverpool are nine points behind Newcastle but unbeaten in 14 games.

Blackburn: Shearwood, Wilson, Collymore (10 and 21), Thomas (20), Alderson, Barnes, Flowers, Berg, Coleman, Hendry, Mann, Ripley (45min), 22, Shearwood, McKelvey (45min), 74, Wilcox, Galloway, Shearer.

Liverpool: James, Wright, Scates, Bab, Adams, Beardsley, Thomas, Jackson, Barnes, Collymore, Fowler.

Referee: A. White (Cheshire-Strut).

Premiership: West Ham United 0, Arsenal 1

Rioch back in Graham's groove as Hartson comes out barking

Neil Robinson

GEORGE GRAHAM was not at Upton Park on Saturday but his spirit most certainly was. One-nil sent when Robertson played Laudrup down the left and the Dane cut inside Irvine towards the box.

Irvine's challenge from behind was especially judged, unlike the sweet little kick with the right foot with which Gascoigne rolled the conversion as far as possible to the right of Watt.

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Referee: D. Ellery (Harrow on the Hill).

Hartson... early strike

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Premiership: Tottenham Hotspur 1, Sheffield Wednesday 0

Armstrong's giant step

Don Beet

WEDNESDAY's child is the bull of woe, but not the bull of joy. Pleat was surprisingly upset after another away defeat, their fifth in a row and all without scoring.

"I am no more worried than any other manager at this stage," he said as Wednesday hovered above the abyss. "If you are fearful you might as well pack it in. We were not that inferior today. The difference between the teams was the pace and power of Armstrong."

"He took his goal excellently but I was disappointed when he seemed to have done enough to hold him up before Armstrong found an extra half-yard."

Tottenham ought to have buried the Yorkshire side but Woods, recalled in goal after having some bone removed from a damaged knee, performed well behind Walker.

That Armstrong was able to maintain control of the ball on a beast of a pitch says much for the striker's steady improvement. His goal was one of few highlights of a game that matched the dimly rainy weather.

Such quality as there was came from Spurs, although Waddle — greeted warmly by home and away support alike — gave Wednesday a little more shape after the interval. But as his ageing legs gradually sank into the bog, all hope died for Wednesday's drum-beating, bugle-blowing, bare-chested followers.

Tottenham ought to have buried the Yorkshire side but Woods, recalled in goal after having some bone removed from a damaged knee, performed well behind Walker.

Tottenham: Walker, Hodge, Duggan, Wright, Platt, 71, Kovacevic (Walls, 54), Hirst, Redmond (80min).

Sheffield Wednesday: Armstrong, Hirst, Platt, 71, Kovacevic (Walls, 54), Hirst, Redmond (80min).

Referee: M. Read (Birmingham).

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Premiership: Coventry City 0, Middlesbrough 0

Robson keeps his new head-hunters at bay

Mark Redding

IT HAD been a strange week, what with an African witchdoctor on the hunt for a severed head in Scotland; Bryan Robson, himself a recent victim of head-hunting by Terry Venables's employers, must have found it almost as strange to leave Highfield Road with a point.

Colless as it was, a draw was enough to stop the rot after a run of eight defeats but Robson knows that, if his expensive side are relegated, the only people looking for his head will be angry Middlesbrough directors.

Defence was clearly Robson's priority; nine league defeats in a row would have broken the club record set in 1954 when Boro were relegated from the old First Division along with Liverpool. Yet Florjot brought a fine save from Ogrizovic in the first half and the impressive Pollock should have had a penalty when he was pulled back by Richardson.

Otherwise it was a day for defenders to shine, and none more brightly than Dashi. The £1.5 million debut boy from Birmingham who was recruited in the centre of the Coventry back four and later back five.

"I enjoyed every minute of it," the Republic of Ireland international said.

Eoin Jess, Coventry's £1.7 million capture from Aberdeen, also made a sound debut, indicating that Ron Atkinson may finally have a side capable of doing justice to his £13.5 million expenditure, but both managers were in early mood afterwards.

Robson slipped away without speaking. Atkinson vowed: "The fight goes on."

Coventry City: Ogrizovic, Florjot, Langley, 70min, Shaw, Dashi, Burrows, Taylor (60min, 41), Richardson, Jess, Dashi, Dashi, N. Wilson.

Middlesbrough: Walsh, Cox, Whyte, Walker, P. Bennett, Fleming, Keweenaw, Huxley, Pollock, Barry, Florjot.

Referee: P. Dwyer (Portsmouth).

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Premiership: Man City 3, Newcastle 3

Asprilla 'butt' a headache for Keegan

Commentary

David Lacey

THE damnation of Faustino Asprilla, Saturday's 3-3 draw between Manchester City and Newcastle United at Maine Road was a triumph for the individual which a combination of teamwork, ever-increasing speed and a stifling denial of space has spent the past three decades striving to eradicate.

It took a rare foreign mix of talents to recall skills once taken for granted among British footballers. For City, Georgi Kinkladze, a Georgian, gave an exhibition of close control and creative play which belonged to the age of Carter and Manton. For United, Philippe Albert, a Belgian, not only scored twice but was such a profound influence between the penalty areas that images of Jim Baxter at his finest sprang to mind.

What a pity that the only part of the match video on which the Football Association must focus concerns the two occasions when the cameras caught Faustino Asprilla at his worst, the Colombian having previously encapsulated the spirit of the occasion with its outstanding moment.

It is a matter of pictorial record that early in the second half Asprilla, having been grabbed by Curle as the pair raced for the ball near the byline, elbowed the Manchester City captain in the face. And when hostilities were briefly resumed as the final whistle sounded, Asprilla again caught Curle, this time with a curt nod.

Asprilla will be fortunate if he escapes a disreputable charge and suspension. Kevin Keegan clearly has Colombia's answer to the pre-Selhurst Eric Cantona on his hands, a combination of brilliance and bandy with a shared dislike of challenges from behind.

"He's from Latin America, that's the way they are," was Keegan's excuse for Asprilla, although the Newcastle manager did not get a clear first-hand view of either incident. The FA may be less charitable now that it has decided that flying elbows are not, after all, part and parcel of the game.

Whatever happens to Asprilla, Keegan has some important thinking to do in the matter of tactics and strategy. The message from Maine Road was that Newcastle may win the Premiership at home or not at all. Away, they have begun to leak goals and points.

When all the excitement and fuss of Saturday's game had died down, the stark fact remained that although

most obvious departure. "He still wants to go," Kinnear confirmed. "He insists he wants one more move before the end of his career."

The FA Cup replay with Huddersfield on Wednesday will stretch Kinnear's squad even more. Already deprived of Holdsworth and Ekoku, Wimbledon now lose Harford to suspension. That leaves

Wimbledon: Harford, Currie, Symons, Hill, Lomas, Dought, Brown, Kinkladze, Røiser, Quinn. Newcastle: Keegan, Strickland, Smith, Poynton, Hovell, Albert, Clark, Boardley, Roseford, Givota, Asprilla, Ferdinand. Referee: M. Bodenham (East Loos).

Premiership: Wimbledon 3, Aston Villa 3

Harford joy as time and tide again wait for Wimbledon

Russell Thomas

ONCE again time appeared to stand still as Wimbledon equalised. It seemed at Selhurst Park that a benign influence was permitting the home side endless licence to redeem the errors of their ways.

There were mistakes in abundance in a performance bizarre even by Crazy Gang standards. Indeed Wimbledon could lay claim to some kind of record in self-destructiveness in presenting two own-goals and a penalty to opponents well equipped to inflict their own damage.

A largely stoppage-free second half was somehow allowed to drift into three minutes of injury time, when the 37-year-old Mick Harford found the energy and space to head the equaliser that kept Wimbledon out of the relegation zone.

Justice had been served in the Huddersfield cliff-hanger a week before, but not here — when it Joe Kinnear talked about his team's superior marksmanship in scoring "five out of the six goals". The harsh truth was that the Coca-Cola Cup finalists, despite their midweek rigours, dominated most of a match played on seeping mud.

Wimbledon remain high on spirit. "We've gone brave again at the end," declared Kinnear — but low on the resources to remove themselves from the Premiership mire.

They will probably have to sell before next month's transfer deadline, with Jones, despite his first appearance since New Year's Day, the

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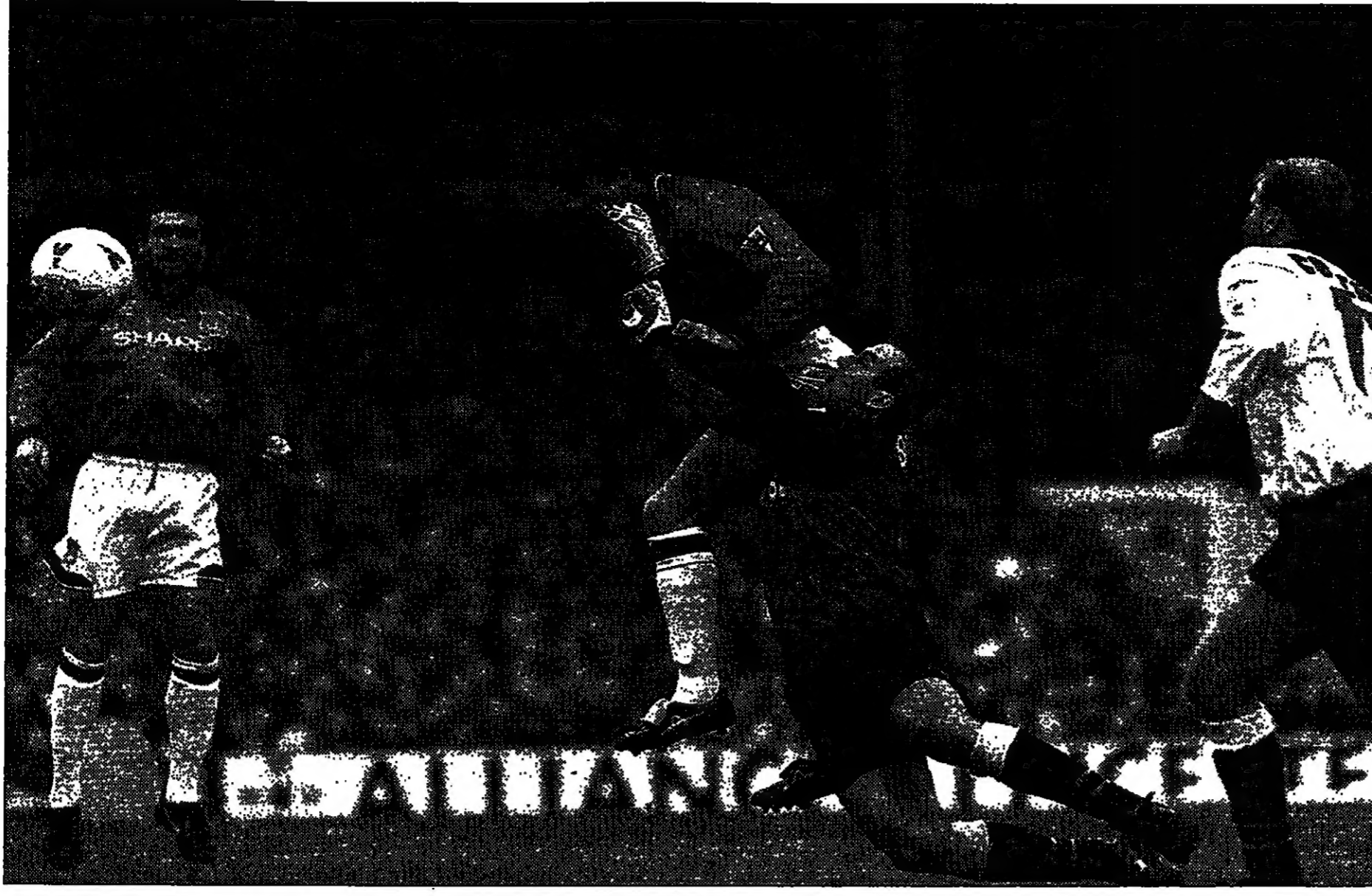
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Beaten by a head... Bolton's goalkeeper Keith Branagan is too late to prevent David Beckham giving Manchester United the lead at Burnden Park

PHOTOGRAPH: MICHAEL STEELE

Ipswich tear up the script for Taylor's return

Martin Thorne at Vicarage Road on a disappointment for the man expected to lead Watford once more into the promised land

ONE daily newspaper calls him a turnip, but according to the Watford Independent Supporters' Association he is a god. Both cannot be right. Perhaps the truth about Graham Taylor is that he is neither a vegetable nor a deity but something in between - a human being.

His confidence now badly dented and his powers, as in some Arabian fairytale, taken away as inexplicably as they were granted, Taylor returned on Saturday to the scene of his greatest triumph. Where else to search for the lost magic?

Whether this decision will turn out to be ill-advised as the many that categorised the last three years of his managerial career, time will tell. Taylor asks to be judged in another three years on his attempt to restore struggling Watford to their halcyon days. "Watford has changed," he says, "but we all can still dream our dreams. Let's give it a go and see what happens."

His relationship has been that of brothers, says Taylor of his former chairman, "and he helped convince me I was fighting shy of Watford because of how the media would react. I could not allow that to happen."

The 51-year-old Taylor is team manager until the end of the season, when, he says, he will put away the track suit for ever and become general manager. Luther Blissett, now 38 but the club's greatest striker, has been plucked from the Vicarage Road commercial office and part-time

playing with Fakenham and given until the end of the season as coach to see if he has what it takes to be manager. However, one cannot help wondering whether, as the touchline dog begins to take effect again during Watford's remaining games, Taylor will find it hard to take off the track suit.

Eales below par but Westner is slippery

ENGLAND'S Paul Eales played steady golf to finish with a two-under-par 70 in the FNB Players Championship in Durban yesterday but lost his hold on second place when the four-stroke overnight leader Wayne Westner was challenged by an inspired Jose Coerez.

The Lancastrian Eales continued to show his tremendous accuracy but most of his birdie putts would not drop until the last green, where he holed a 25-footer to claim third place and £10,500 from the European Tour event.

Westner's closing 70 for an 18-under total of 270 brought him £63,000 and, he said, "the best day of my golfing life". He explained: "The putt was the biggest of my life - not just the money but the three-year exemption into Europe, the invitation to the British Open and finishing top of the South African Order of Merit."

In Sydney the former British Open champion Ian Baker-Finch broke 70 for the first time for 17 months yesterday in finishing joint 33rd behind his fellow Australian Peter Senior in the Canon Challenge.

Baker-Finch was given a rousing reception up the last fairway on his way to a 69, his best round since a 68 in the Queensland Open in October 1994 where he had last made the halfway cut. "I have achieved two goals in one week," he said. "I know now how to keep the bad thoughts out of my mind."

Southgate struggle but go top

SOUTHGATE went top of hockey's National League for the fourth time this winter after a weekend when all five challengers for the men's title were forced to battle and only two of the top eight sides won, writes Pat Rowley.

Southgate were twice behind against Surbiton but played their best once Duncan Woods was sent off straight after putting them ahead for the first time in the 61st minute. They prevailed 5-2, Billy Waugh scoring two of four corner goals.

Carnock lost top place after another late Reading rally snatched a 2-2 draw at Cornhill. Chris Mayer scored the first goal and set up the second for Justin Piddock but Reading came back with a Paddy Osborn penalty and, when Mayer was suspended, Scott Ashdown snatched the equaliser from a 65th-minute corner.

The surprise of the weekend was the failure of the indoor champions Old Loughboroughians to beat the bottom club Stourport. Behind 3-1 after 18 minutes, they were relieved to share six goals.

Stich back in title mode

MICHAEL STICH ended the Croatian Goran Ivanisevic's 14-match winning streak by taking the European Community tennis championship title in Antwerp yesterday, beating the man who triumphed in Zagreb and Dubai by 6-3, 6-2, 7-6. The German world No. 13, playing only his second event since bearing an ankle ligament in October, dominated from the net in the first two sets in a battle between two big servers - who together had hit more than 120 aces in their four previous matches in the tournament.

England's double berth

THE ENGLAND men's and women's badminton squads both won through to the world team finals in Hong Kong in a pair of heartening performances in Prague on Saturday, writes Richard Jago. The men beat the Netherlands 3-2 while the women had a minor triumph in winning 3-2 against Sweden, the second seeds in their qualifying pool.

Higgins snookered by system

THE defending champion John Higgins reeled off six frames in a row, including breaks of 104 and 100, to win his fifth ranking title in 16 months by beating the world No. 40 Rod Lawler 9-3 in the Swester Super International in Swindon, writes Clive Everton.

The 20-year-old Scot will nevertheless still be rated only the world No. 11 behind Stephen Hendry for another 10 weeks, because of the complex exemptions and seeding system for world ranking events.

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BASEBALL

Ladejo runs into trouble, page 13
Leeds face Villa in final, page 14

Asprilla awaits his fate, page 14

SportsGuardian

WORLD CUP CRICKET, GROUP B: ENGLAND v SOUTH AFRICA

England batting folds again

Duck for Atherton in 78-run drubbing

Mike Selvey in Rawalpindi

CONSIDER this for a scenario. England qualify for the quarter-finals of the World Cup in fourth place and are drawn to meet Sri Lanka, whom they defeat. They play New Zealand in the semi-final, winning that as well. From there it is just one good performance against the best of the rest before an open-top bus ride through London and a team-of-the-year award.

Table with columns: GROUP A, P, W, L, T, NR, Pts, RR. Rows include Sri Lanka, India, Australia, New Zealand, Kenya, Zimbabwe.

of Raymond Illingworth's masterplan.

Yesterday Rawalpindi became the latest venue to see England trampled underfoot by a cocky, confident and thoroughly competent South Africa side. It was not the fault of the bowlers; they performed creditably, with dew on the ground and then a light drizzle that kept the ball wet, to dismiss their opponents with the last ball of the innings for 230.

It was a total well within England's compass, given a sound start. Instead they lost Mike Atherton to the fourth ball of the innings, and the key wicket of Graeme Hick for 14 before the eighth over was out.

Thereafter South Africa never let go. Graham Thorpe, the only batsman other than Hick in any sort of form, made a polished 46, and although there was some defiance at the end from Phil De-

Freitas, Dominic Cork and Darren Gough it was like Butch and Sundance blazing away at the Bolivian army. When Gough was finally yorked by Craig Matthews to bring proceedings to a close with 5 1/2 overs to spare, England, at one stage in danger of not making three figures, had reached 152.

It was their seventh defeat against these opponents in the last eight outings, and Illingworth's view that a fairer reflection of the recent 6-1 drubbing South Africa would have been a 4-3 win for England had the ring of a knocked-out boxer claiming the fight because he had been ahead on points. Illingworth did not quibble about this seventh defeat, however, declining to attend the press conference and leaving it to the captain.

Atherton said that England had fancied themselves getting the runs, "but South Africa made life difficult. We batted below par and they bowled a really tight line. And when you are on a confidence high, as they are, then things seem to click. "As for us, we are not batting with any flair or confidence. It's not through lack of preparation; we are working hard. Quite simply there are too many batsmen out of form and we cannot keep playing games with just one or two [in form]. You expect some high scores on the subcontinent and need at least four in form to chase them."

Solving the problem may not be easy, for England have played all but one of their qualifying matches; they finish by playing Pakistan next Sunday. Tomorrow they head for Karachi and intend to practise diligently in the nets before playing a game on Friday against a Karachi Cricket Association side, whom they are confident of beating.

Shaun Pollock, Fanie de Villiers (who played in place of the unwell Allan Donald), Matthews and Brian McMillan were no slouches yesterday, and Pat Symcox produced a timely spell of off-spin out of the rough against England's middle-order clutch of left-handers. But well as South Africa bowled, it was a third-rate batting effort.

Atherton, who can scarcely bat his eyelids at the moment, hung his bat out to Pollock and Hick, who with Thorpe is holding things together these days, chipped gently to mid-wicket when seemingly well set.

The experiment with Neil Smith opening was not a great success, for although Atherton had quite rightly



Turning point... England, having restricted South Africa to 230, quickly lose their captain

turned back to the top of the order, it was at the expense of Alec Stewart. Pinch-hitters are all very well - Palfra-man, badly missed by Cork when he had seven, contributed half of a 56-run opening stand for South Africa in 13 overs - but the 230 total demanded a more orthodox approach, given the attack, than Smith's 11 in a dozen overs. He looked out of his depth.

And Stewart's run-out, when he failed to ground his bat, was symptomatic of his cricket at present. If any spark of encouragement came from the game it was in the batting of Thorpe - who nudged, pushed and manoeuvred his way to the highest individual score of the match before chopping Symcox into Palfra-man's gloves - and the bowling of Peter Martin in particular and Cork, Gough and DeFreitas.

The bowlers chipped away at the South Africa batsmen, rarely allowing them to settle, and might well have dis-

missed the team for around 180 had not Jonty Rhodes, with a perky 37 from 33 balls, contributed at exactly the right time. In a game with no outstanding candidates, Rhodes's innings and his inspirational fielding, which on a bad day is out of this world, were sufficient to earn him the Man of the Match award.

© Sri Lanka, who went to the top of Group A without bowling a ball yesterday as West Indies forfeited their match in Colombo, are worried by their lack of action. "The lack of competition is a concern for us as we have to wait 10

days after playing Zimbabwe [last Wednesday] for our next match, against India," said the manager Duleep Mendis. Sri Lanka were awarded two points because of West Indies' refusal to travel to the island after a bomb blast in Colombo on January 31 killed more than 80 people and injured 1,200. Sri Lanka also picked up two points when Australia pulled out of their match on February 17 for the same reason.

© Brian Lara has a stomach bug but the West Indies batsman should be fit to face Kenya in Pune on Thursday.

Premiership: Bolton 0, Manchester Utd 6

Title gap narrows as Bolton are hit for six

David Lacey

MANCHESTER United's pursuit of Newcastle at the top of the Premiership broke from a trot to a gallop at Burnden Park yesterday. Bolton Wanderers, for whom relegation now looks a formality, were swept aside as United moved to within four points of Kevin Keegan's wavering team.

Clearly taking their cue from Newcastle's discomfort in the 3-3 draw with Manchester City the previous afternoon, United dazed Bolton with two early goals then prostrated them with four more in the last 20 minutes. United travel to St James' Park, where Newcastle have yet to drop a point, a week today for a match they have to win if the championship is seriously to be opened up. Presumably this lay at the back of Alex Ferguson's mind as he took off first Giggs, who had plagued Bolton, and then Cantona. Both played with minor strains, not that one would have noticed.

The changes made little difference. If anything they worsened the already hapless plight of a Bolton defence that simply did not have the speed or organisation to keep the opposition out. Cole redeemed a couple of misses with his 10th goal of the season. Scholes came off the bench to score twice in four minutes, bringing his total to 13, and Butt got into the act in the closing seconds.

If the distinctions between top and bottom had become blurred at Maine Road, no such doubts lingered yesterday. Burnden Park may be little more than 10 minutes' drive from Old Trafford but the distance in quality between United and Bolton amounted to more than a few miles. Perhaps quality is the wrong word. Bolton do not lack attacking quality and the persistence of Lee and Sellars on their flanks, augmented by the diligence in midfield of Currie and Thompson, gave them a respectable momentum.

United, however, possessed more know-how; in addition they possessed more pace, as much in moving the ball around as in sprinting past opponents to receive it. And essentially they possessed Giggs, once more starting game on the left after

Sharpe's back injury had restricted Beckham to the United right.

After two minutes a 25-yard drive from Currie found Schmechel flinging himself through the air to fist the ball clear. Then the bulk of Bolton's optimism expired. In the fourth minute United took the lead and they were two ahead by the quarter-hour.

The opening goal was scored by Beckham but was all about Giggs. Gathering a pass from Keane, the Welshman sprinted clear of Lee and Green, flicked the ball up and produced an audacious volley which dipped over the goalkeeper's head before bouncing down off the bar and striking a post. Beckham headed in the rebound.

Cole, looking confident everywhere except in front of the net, instigated a smart crossfield move in the 10th minute but then headed Beckham's centre wide when in a perfect position to score. The next time Beckham crossed, from a corner, Bruce's head increased United's lead. It was their captain's first league goal for 11 months.

When Bolton drove forward, as they often did, they were in peril immediately a move broke down. Yet as Currie more effectively after half-time Bolton briefly harboured thoughts of a recovery. Cole did nothing to disillusion them when he gathered a pass from Giggs with time and space to score but shot over.

There, however, Bolton's interest in the contest finally ended. After 68 minutes Cole turned sharply past Coleman and scored United's third off the underside of the bar.

Cole then set up Scholes's first goal in the 70th, the shot going in off Coleman, and Scholes scored his second, three minutes later, by diverting one from McClair, the other substitute, past Brannagan. Cole's was the assist that enabled Butt to add a sixth at the end.

Omniabus for Newcastle their old boy was at last beginning to look the part. It was United's eighth successive victory.

Bolton Wanderers: Brannagan, Green, Fairclough, Golsman, Phillips, Lee (McClair, 70min), Currie, Thompson, Sellars, Blake, De Freitas.

Manchester United: Schmechel, Irwin, Bruce, Palfra-man, P Neville, Scotland, Butt, Keane, Giggs (McClair, 57), Cantona (Scholes, 75), Cole. Referee: D J Gallagher (Barnaby).

Photograph, page 15

Scoreboard

Table with columns: SOUTH AFRICA, ENGLAND. Rows list players and their scores in various matches.

Apology sought for 'buffoon' jibe

PAKISTANI journalists are seeking an apology from Mike Atherton over an unflattering remark made by the England captain to one of their colleagues after yesterday's match, writes Mike Selvey. Atherton was asked a long, rambling question by a local journalist, Asghar Ali, about his side's fixture plans. He replied that he did not understand the question and when it was repeated lost his patience and said: "Will someone remove this buffoon?"

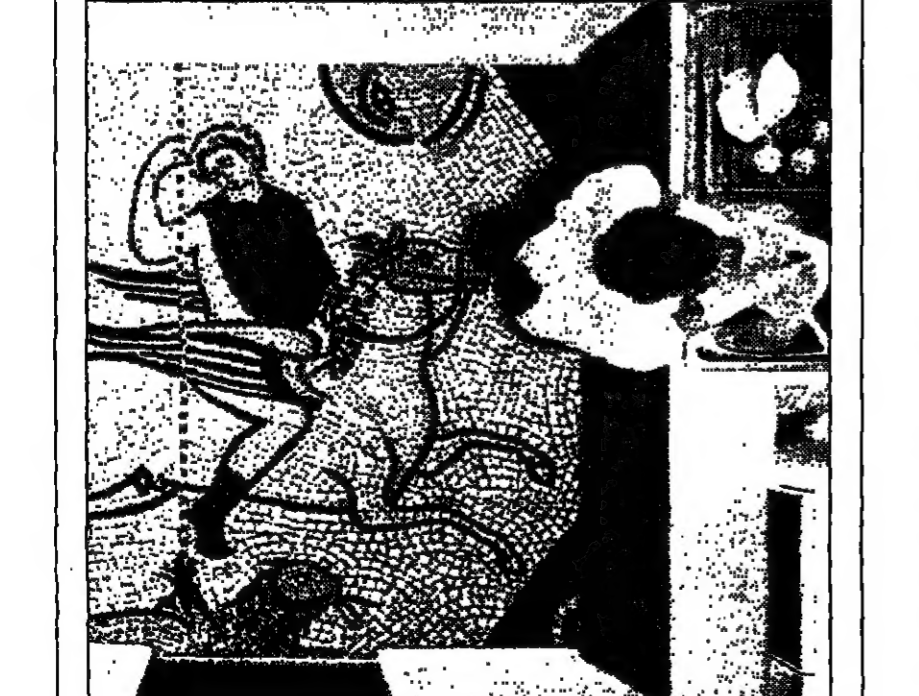
Guardian Crossword No 20,585

Set by Crispa

Crossword puzzle grid with numbers 1-26 indicating starting positions for clues.

- Across: 7 The fellow getting old but still very much in control (8); 9 People really dislike feeling this (6); 10 Tie for a flier (4); 11 Contentment not over in town? (10); 12 There's a lack of colour - everything's in soft gold (6); 14 Venture giving rise to extreme ill-feeling (8); 15 The fathead will go in ready perhaps to foot the bill (8); 17 Some schoolchildren choose to get wet (5); 20 Accountants' aspiration - only the finest suiting (8); 22 Take offence at being asked to leave again (6); 23 Considered folk wanting a leader to be base (10); 24 Make short work of the tall grass (4); 25 Not yet studied under a proper arrangement (6); 26 Followers should see the light (4,4).

Solution tomorrow



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Advertisement for G2 page 9: "Last year Americans who owned both a PC and a television spent more time on their PCs than watching TV". The Interactive Newspapers Conference in San Francisco.

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WINNERS OF PRIZE PUZZLE 20,578: This week's winners of a Collins English Dictionary are M. G. J. Page of King's Norton, Birmingham, G. Hambleton of Chesle Hulme, Cheshire, R. L. A. Tresham of Wightwick, Wolverhampton, M. W. Shapard of Bridgewater, Somerset, and G. S. Parsons of West Bridgford, Nottingham.

- 18 A worker taking part would appear fair (8); 19 Superior getting no rise? That's quite wrong (5); 21 The value of a horse (6); 22 Regular payment received by letter (5); 24 Wind register (4).

Solution tomorrow
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